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IN THE NATO AFTERMATH

W. Europe demands Washington talk peace with Moscow

By Kumar Goshal

THE TOP LEVEL NATO conference in Paris ended on Dec. 19 with a 15-nation communique which was more eloquent in its omissions than in its statements. There was good reason for this: the conference itself was in effect dominated by an uninvited and invisible guest—the Soviet Union—and the final communique was overshadowed last week by the continuing peace offensive from Moscow.

Supporting this drive, and adding to the discomfiture of Washington, was an insistent public clamor throughout the world, in this Christmas season, for the nations to check their guns at the door and talk peace. This is what the NATO communique did:

- Called on the Soviet Union "to honor its pledge to carry out the reunification of Germany by means of free elections."
- Supported "the independence" of Middle Eastern states; urged cooperation among African and European countries having "historic, economic and other friendly ties," viewed "with concern . . . events in Indonesia."
- Blamed Moscow for the disarmament deadlock, but expressed "willingness to promote," preferably through the UN Disarmament Commission, negotiations with the Soviet Union in favor of the Western package proposal.
- Welcomed "a meeting with Moscow at foreign ministers' level" to try to resolve the disarmament deadlock.
- Declared that "NATO has decided to establish stocks of nuclear warheads and intermediate-range ballistic missiles" in Europe and that deployment of these arms "will be decided . . . in agreement with states directly concerned."

WASHINGTON'S DEFEAT: The communique hid bitter disappointments. The Netherlands failed to gain outright support for its economic stake in Indonesia. France did not get the support it wanted in Algeria. The Greece-Britain-Turkey conflict over Cyprus was swept under the rug.

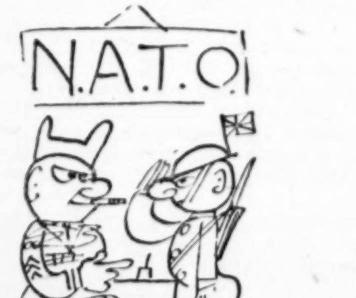
But the worst defeat was suffered by Washington, which had conceived the

(Continued on Page 8)

Good advice, Foster—why not try it on yourself?

PARIS, Dec. 15 (AP)—The Bible was a freely quoted book in Paris today—24 hours before the opening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit conference. Five western statesmen read lengthy quotations from Old and New Testaments at two different church services . . . Dulles turned to Psalm 46, reading . . . "Be still and know that I am God. I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth."

—San Francisco **Chronicle**, Dec. 16



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Go quell those Soho natives."

The moving finger writes a tale of trouble for Washington in 1953

In the field and in the factory there will be unrest this coming year as Administration farm and labor policies gather a storm before them. Above (l.) Agriculture Secy. Benson insists the President loves him and wants him on job (see below); Labor Secy. Mitchell (r.) insists that growing unemployment is caused only by a "cyclical adjustment." For news how the auto industry and the auto workers of Detroit are adjusting cyclically, see p. 6.

THE FAMILY FARMER FACES EXTINCTION

Benson's goal: Wipe out half nation's farms

By Lawrence Emery

HOW TO RUN the small farmer off the farm is now a chief concern of big business and the Eisenhower Administration. Latest government statistics indicate that 44% of U.S. farms produce 90.8% of all marketed farm commodities; 56% of the farms have market sales of less than $2,500 a year and account for only 9.2% of farm products that go to market. Liquidation of more than half the nation's farms is the government's goal.

The aim was bluntly stated by Prof. Theodore W. Schultz of the University of Chicago, who was one of a panel of experts appearing on Dec. 16 before an agricultural subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee. He said the government should concentrate on getting rid of surplus farmers instead of surplus crops: "The hard core of the U.S. farm problem is the surplus of human effort committed to farming."

THE "RESOURCES": Earlier, on Dec. 8, the Committee for Economic Development, a private big-business group, said the same thing in a special farm study and advocated removing whole farms from production and shifting the farmers into city jobs: "The basic difficulty with present agricultural policy is simple. In trying to underwrite farm prices and income it perpetuates an unreal price structure that encourages overproduction of farm products and keeps too many people in farming. [The solution is] to pay farmers to reduce voluntarily the amount of resources now devoted to surplus production. These resources are chiefly land and people . . . The new program should direct the Administration to concentrate its efforts overwhelmingly on the retirement of whole farms."

Two days after the publication of this report, Secy. of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson adopted its recommendations as official government policy. He announced that farmers of four states—Illinois, Maine, Nebraska and Tennessee—will be invited to take their farms out of production for at least five years in return for government payments under the Conservation Reserve section of the Soil Bank Act. Benson said that if the trial program is successful in the four states, it will be extended to all farmers.

IT IS NOT NEW: Actually, the process of separating the farmer from his land has been going on for years. From 1940 to 1956, the number of persons engaged in farming dropped from 10,979,000 to 7,869,000, a reduction of 28% in 16 years. Last October the Census Bureau reported a further drop in farm population of 1,861,000 between April, 1956, and April, 1957; the Bureau called it "one of the largest [changes] ever recorded" for a single year.

But the Eisenhower Administration's war of attrition against the small farmer has not achieved Secy. Benson's major goal of reducing farm "surpluses." Total acreage for the 1956-1957 crop year was the smallest since 1919 but the total yield for all crops matches the two previous high records set in 1948 and 1956. Next year's wheat crop is expected to exceed all previous records. Rep. George McGovern (D-S.D.) wrote in a letter in the Washington **Post** on Dec. 12:

"While fulminating against 'overproduction,' the Secretary [of Agriculture] has forced farmers to increase production as a means of surviving under the low price supports that he has established . . . Only a most unusual man could have given us in one package the lowest farm income in 16 years and the most expensive farm program in history while quadrupling our government-held surpluses."

THE UN-LOVED MAN: Benson's unpopularity, not only with farmers but with fellow-Republicans, is now at an all-time high. Last October, when he stepped onto an outdoor rostrum at an annual mechanical corn-picking contest in Sioux Falls, S.D., he was greeted by a barrage of half a dozen eggs. They all missed, but five farmers were arrested and had a common complaint: their letters to Washington went unanswered.

While Benson was on a round-the-

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

For the Teamsters

CHESTER, PA.

It appears the NAM, Sen. McClellan, Judge F. Dickinson Letts and the executive council of the AFL-CIO are all part and parcel of the conspiracy to hamstring the Teamsters' Union and dictate the conditions of their internal policies.

We learn that in New York a sizable bloc of Teamster locals are shaping opposition to the incumbent administration lieutenant, John J. O'Rourke. The strategy of division and conquest implemented from within the ranks of an organized body is immeasurably more effective than any contrived atmosphere of strife surrounding isues involving "corruption," "misappropriation," or what have you. It can only be hoped that these dissenting locals will retain a clear perspective on the real issues involved, and that they will not forget the level of corruption inherent in the very policies of the NAM or to what purposes the entire fund of that organization is eternally appropriated.

Harry Bridges stated in a recent television appearance that he would be willing to give consideration, and that he felt the membership of the ILWU would give consideration, to any proposal that might ensue toward merging the forces of the ILWU with the Teamsters' Union led by James Hoffa. By this one can determine from what direction the greatest opposition toward the Hoffa leadership stems.

Bill Drake

It's obvious

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Though press and radio unite
To keep the story hidden
We've found out why our satellite
Appears to be earth-ridden.
The cad who gave our Orbit Plan
To Russia was so sloppy
That when he filched the files and ran
He took the only copy.

John Nople

New new look needed

PROVO, UTAH

The great task confronting our government is not to "catch up" with the Soviets in satellites and missiles but to get right with itself and the world.

Wrong policy has cost our government not only billions of dollars, loaded it down with irremediable debt, shoved it to the "brink of war" and now threatens to plunge it into the depths of economic crisis; but it also has caused it the loss of confidence, love and respect of the peace-loving nations and peoples of the world and the real love of country and genuine patrotism of our own people.

Two wrongs do not make one right. The great task confronting our government can not be accomplished by combining the wrong Democratic policy with the wrong Republican policy. What is needed is a re-dedication and consecration of our policy makers to fundamental Americanism, to take the lead in a great crusade for world peace, "the brotherhood of man," and the sisterhood of nations.

E. A. Mitchell

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

POOR, PITIFUL PEARL (doll) — dressed in tattered clothes. Pearl's pathetic expression will capture the hearts of everyone. Little mothers will delight in taking her under their wings and caring for her $9.98

—Post Road Co. ad in N.Y. **Times**, 12/15

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Rena Freud Biernays, New York City.

View from Canada

PENOBSQUIS, N. B.

Russian moons a-sweeping
Round our earthy ball;
Yankee folk a-weeping,
Theirs won't go at all.

Herman Fillmore

Are we inferior?

PHILA., PA.

In a letter to the N.Y. **Times** (12/1/57) Thomas H. Briggs, Chairman of the Board of the Council for the Advancement of Secondary Education, poses the basic issue in American education. Our educational philosophy is, he writes, "first, that the proportion of young people who can profit from education in the higher reaches of mathematics and science is relatively small; secondly, that, consequently, the majority of youth should be given courses that are less theoretical in nature."

Dr. Briggs has clearly formulated the prevailing doctrine in American education — that the majority of American youth are incapable of a broad, scientific education.

The fact that many students are slow learners has not served as a challenge to American educators. Instead of redoubling our efforts to learn the concrete, psychological laws that govern the learning process, our educators come up with the false doctrine that the trouble lies with the students and not the system.

This false assumption is then "scientifically" corroborated by the I.Q. test which measures achievement rather than innate ability. Through means of round-about reasoning, the I.Q. test then becomes proof that the majority of students are incapable of a high level education. By means of such modern-day hocus-pocus the educators release themselves from responsibility for the present situation.

Is it not incredible that Dr. Briggs would put forward this doctrine in the face of the Soviet Union's achievements in education? Why can they educate a whole generation in math and science while we can educate only a few? Are we biologically inferior?

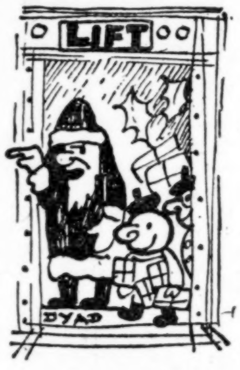
The Soviet Union rejected the I.Q. tests more than 20 years ago. Education ranks at the top of their value system. They have an educational philosophy which asumes the capability of the vast majority of the Soviet youth and this philosophy has been proven in practice. (This is not to say that we should accept their methodology, which is quite rigid.)

May I again, in conclusion, urge the GUARDIAN to give attention to the issue of education. You might begin with a full scale review of Irving Adler's new book, **What We Want of Our Schools.** It deserves the widest possible sale and discussion.

Name Withheld

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL READERS

BEGINNING WITH NEXT ISSUE subscription price of NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be $5 a year, single copy 15c. The increase is compelled by rising production costs under which we can no longer maintain our $3 a year price. Our $1 introductory sub will continue for new readers on a 13-week basis.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Sixth floor — aerodynamics, rocketry, nuclear space ships."

Enjoys our jests

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As I sit here at my desk my eye falls on "Alice's Adventures in Brinkerland." (GUARDIAN 11/11). Once again, reminding me that I always meant to let you know how much I enjoy the GUARDIAN's humor — hence I scrawl this little note of appreciation.

C. B.

On nakedness

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I must salute the masterful review of Fast's **The Naked God** by James Aronson (12/16). Fast's "double-think" is most lucid in his treatment of Gene Dennis, one of the leaders of the CP, whom he paints as some sort of bumbling idiot. Yet on April 15, 1956, Fast, the self-styled "rebel," in a review of Dennis' **Letters From Prison** in the **Daily Worker,** says of Dennis:

"Eugene Dennis is a very brave man and his courage comes out of good things, out of gentleness and love and compassion, and in the light of that, he presents the enigma that all brave and gentle people offer."

The question I would like to ask of Mr. Fast, who can use no rationale of Lubianka Prison or brain washings to excuse himself, is: "Has Eugene Dennis changed so much since April 15, 1956, so as to make what you said of him untrue, or has Howard Fast done all the changing?"

L. Baum

Canadian's remedy

TORONTO, CAN.

$5 is not a lot for the information we get in the GUARDIAN. The Nov. 25 issue was a special treat, for it contained such pleasant reading. (The GUARDIAN always does contain the cream in newspaper journalism). Cedric Belfrage's article on the English old-age pension was a gem.

M. Berke

More Mailbag on p. 12

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BOUQUETS TO READERS

From all of us here...

TO OUR SAGE of sages, Dr. Du Bois, to Viv and Vin and the Hallinan boys, to Elmer Benson and Beanie B., Charlotta Bass and Priscilla E., Hugh DeLacey and Mrs. Marc., Johnny Bernard and Mrs. Jerry, Happy New Years and all of them merry.

To all our Louises, from ALS on; Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; Paul & Silas, Angus & Carl, Yuletide wishes by the bar'l. (We'll stretch this rhyme for Olive Carroll, stretch it more for Robert Terrell, a little more to cover Muriel, and snap it off to get in Reuel.)

Hail the Brittains, the Frances also, Royal and Clem; and Arnaud D'Usseau; Frances Lyngholm of Belle Glade, Fla.; and before this rhyme gets any horrider, hail East Palatka, Pahokee, Apopka, Sunstrip Pete and Safety Harbor.

CHEERS TO THE ROBESONS, and Wallingford R., and all the Weavers, near & far; the Bradens, the Powells, the Jenkins' and Jencks'; the Harry S. Wards and those from Breezy Banks; and up in Syracuse the Janks; and out in Berkley the Van Franks—love and thanks.

All our Roses wish we well, Rose of Round Top and Rose Sobell, Rosie Ryan and Rose Russell, Monitor's Rose and Evanston's too, and, Rosa Ingram, freedom for you! Freedom we wish for many as well, Winston, Green and Morton Sobell; Amy Mallard and Alfred Slack; also we'd like to have Cedric back; and Irving Potash should be free, like you and me.

CHEERS AND LONG YEARS to A. J. Muste, Harvey O'Connor and Merle Debuskey, Harry Sacher and Justices Brennan, Douglas, Black and Otto Nathan, Oleta Yates and tough Steve Nelson, Johnny Gojack, Goldie Watson, Elliot Sullivan, William A. Price, Dalton Trumbo and Rev. Heist, Grace Lorch and Corliss Lamont and that truculent gent, Rockwell Kent; and in a special firmament, galaxies of lesser lights, for holding up the Bill of Rights. And a plate of bones to our legal beagles, too; never have so many owed so much to so few.

TO ALL in Pelican, Alask., in Hungry Horse and Moosejaw, Sask., in Whonock, Penobsquis, Muscatine; Grygla, Redwing, Embarrass, Minn., Elkview, Olathe, Fairdealing, Mo., China Bend and Burning Prairie, Scappoose, Chinook and Jasper, Ark., Medicine Lake and Rogers Park, Spearfish, Sapulpa and Tishomingo, Ventnor, N.J., and Yellow Springs, O., Oshkosh, both of Wis. and Nebraska, Gig Harbor, Wash., and Sitka, Alaska, Spring Hill, Kan., and Hanna, Utah, Cazenovia and Ballston Spa, Paradise, Calif., and Kettleman City—hope you are all sitting pretty. Also the hamlets of Elsinore, Divine Corners and Glory Shore.

ADVERTISERS have never been better than Sofas Rewebbed and Custom Letter, Standard Brands and Tired of Maple, Chaits and Wingdale (opens in April, or maybe it's May) and Avoca Tweeds, and all those chaps for your moving needs, Kuperman, Numarvel, all the bookstores, Broadway Carpet, Aluminum Screen Doors, Norma Caterers and Unwanted Hair, Get the Most for the Least, Television & Air; Arrowhead, Midvale, Brodsky and Schenker, Lore and Maymudes and newcomer Brenner, Blumberg and Maury and Metro. Musicians, Homeline, Katzen, Progressive Opticians, Phyllis, Tanner and both The Boroughs, Sing Out, Fred Ewen and all the Forums—with us you're all high cockalorums.

ON THIS OCCASION we can't say enough for such Mailbag pundits as John Barraclough, Ernie Seeman, Joe the Shoemaker, Otis Johnston and M. S. Baker, D. I. Todd and Oliver Ritchie (though we sometimes wish they weren't so picky). Eino Hiltunen and Preston McCrosssen, Name Withheld and Garnet Helfen, LHH and Pearl Cline, Florence Luscomb and Lauren O'Brien, Wes Gletty, Nan Dickman, O.B. Bagshaw, Hugh Hardyman, Clint Lovely, Adam Farmer, Feiner, Scheiner and Lillian Reiner, Elmer Fish and Franklin Baxter, G. Larrabee and Maurice Becker, Horace Casselberry and Vincent Noga—to each we offer a wreath and toga. Likewise to Mailbag poetasters, especially Veni Vidi and Vee Emess, our shortest spacesters.

AND FINALLY to J. N. McCullough, Manitowoc's John G. Muller, and every other girl and feller, love, long life and every satisfaction. Yours for Independent Political Action!

—THE GUARDIAN

L'ENVOI: Should old acquaintance be forgot (Mandel Terman or Helen Scott) tears of sadness would dim our glim (Sean O'Casey, Harry & Mim); so ring out the old, ring in the new, you & you & you & you, from first to last on our five-string abacus, from Aaron and Abner to K. Zilliacus.

WHAT'S SCARING SAM ENGELHARDT?

How Tuskegee's Negroes lost their vote

By Louis E. Burnham

"WHERE you goin', boy!" The words were more of a command than a question. They shot out at me like bullets, compelling submission.

The Tuskegee cop had brought his car to a halt alongside the bench where I sat. All-powerful white man, clothed with the law, he glared with hate-filled eyes and waited for me to answer.

I said, "I'm going to Birmingham."

"Don' no bus stop here for Birmingham!"

"Well," I said, "I'm going to take the bus to Montgomery and make the connection there for Birmingham."

He seemed to calm down a little: "Oh, that's different, then."

THOUGHT SETS IN: He said something else as he began to drive off, but his words were lost in the sound of the motor. Unthinking, I asked him: "Hunh?"

He jammed on the brakes, rocketed out of the door and towered over me. I believed then and cannot dissuade myself now that he frothed at the mouth and his eyes spat fire.

The night was pitch black and hid everything but the gleaming steel of his pearl-handled revolver. He gripped it tightly and bellowed: "Whassamatter with you, boy, don' you know how to say "yessir"? You ain't said "yessir" yet!

Unthinking no longer, I said, "I'm sorry, I wasn't thinking, sir."

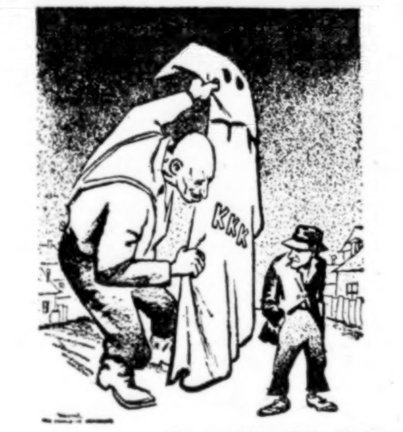
That was 13 years ago, and I shall never forget it. I shall never forget Alabama—or Tuskegee.

THE INSTITUTE: Tuskegee, the Institute, with its well-kept grounds and sainted black genius, George Washington pleasant walks. The buildings, old and new. The laboratory of a simple and

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER
The simplicity of genius

Carver. The impressive Veterans Hospital. The comfortable and sturdy homes of the faculty members. And, above all, the earnest students, sons and daughters of the Negro poor, learning to be nurses and engineers, printers and animal specialists, teachers and carpenters.

Tuskegee, the Institute, a privileged sanctuary against the never-ending aggressions of white supremacy upon the lives of the Negro people.



The Charlotte, N.C., Observer
"Try it on—makes you feel bigger."

THE TOWN: But Tuskegee, the town, and Macon, the county—domain of the master race. Here the Negro must bow with deference. Here he must be cheated by the merchant and robbed by the loan shark. Here he must suffer silently the insults to his wife, humiliation of his children. Here he must go voiceless, except as his voice croaks with fear or simulates obeisance. Here he must be voteless, to preserve the pelf and power of the county commissioners, and tax assessors, the gun-toting sheriff and Sam Engelhardt, State Senator from Macon and Bullock Counties, exec. secy. of the Alabama Assoc. of Citizens Councils.

THE ASSOCIATION: Fifteen years ago the Tuskegee Civic Assn. had just begun its work. It worked quietly but persistently to register Negroes to vote. It began with a small group of teachers on the campus. Dean Charles G. Gomillion was its leader. Slowly, it involved the Negro businessmen of the town, the preachers and their flocks. It combatted the intimidation and terror of the Rebel whites. The registration board refused to meet for 18 months, but the TCA persisted. By education, persuasion and example, it succeeded by 1957 in registering 400 Negroes to vote.

THE SENATOR: There were only 540 white voters in Tuskegee town. Sam Engelhardt ran in fear to the Alabama Legislature. They passed for him a law to move Tuskegee's Negro community outside the town limits. It was an almost perfect job: they squeezed out all but 10 black voters.

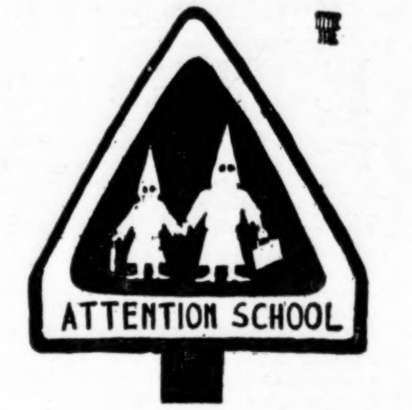
Engelhardt said the measure was necessary to "get ready" for civil rights legislation, then pending in Congress.

Gomillion said, "If they can get along without our votes they can get along without our dollars," and Negroes since June have boycotted Tuskegee's white merchants. This month the TCA opened a cooperative supermarket in Montgomery, 40 miles away. On weekends Negroes drive there, fill up their cars with the week's groceries. They get what they pay for—and no insults.

But Sam Engelhardt was not through. A moderate civil rights bill was enacted by Congress. Negroes were still pressing for the vote all over the county. And in Macon County there are 27,234 Negroes and 4,703 whites. The Senator returned to the lily-white legislature with a bill to settle the matter for all time.

THE VOTERS: The Legislature put the matter before the sovereign people of Alabama and on Dec. 17 they voted to abolish Macon County. Mobile, the second largest county, voted against the measure, 5-3. In Jefferson County (Birmingham) the vote in favor was close, 15,000-14,000. But the rural constituencies prevailed and the vote for abolition, with 1,974 of 2,780 boxes reporting, was 58,824 to 40,718.

Next month a committee of the legislature will meet to work out the details of chopping up the county and handing its people over to five predominantly



Mittelberg in Humanite, Paris

white counties. Then, presumably, Alabama will again be safe for white supremacy. Tuskegee Institute will once more become a civilized oasis in a desert of "yessir!"

THE PROSPECT: Roy Wilkins, NAACP secy., said last week this need not happen. He characterized Alabama's action as "an open confession to the nation that Alabama will go to any length in order to prevent Negro citizens from enjoying their constitutional right to vote." The Dec. 17 vote, he said, warrants action by Congress "to reduce the number of representatives from Alabama" under the provisions of the 14th Amendment.

If Congress should decide to act, it might also look into 14 other Alabama counties with Negro majorities—and 13 in Mississippi, 11 in Georgia and others scattered throughout the South. Macon's precedent is a bad example for them—and for democracy.

Can pigskin and sputnik coexist?

The following was excerpted from an editorial in the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune.

IT WAS A GREAT DAY in Auburn (population 13,000) yesterday. The national football championship trophy was presented to the Alabama Polytechnic Institute's team, winner of 14 straight games. By proclamation of Governor Folsom, all Alabama celebrated "Auburn Day."

But in some sections of the campus the cheers must have issued feebly, from unsmiling faces.

At about the same time the Tigers were voted No. 1 team of the nation, the National Engineers Council for Professional Development withdrew accreditation from the electrical and mechanical engineering departments at the Auburn school.

The Council said the departments were judged "below minimum standards" chiefly because of low faculty salaries and excessive faculty teaching loads. The deficiencies were said to have existed for several years and to be worsening rather than improving. The Montgomery **Advertiser** called the loss of accreditation "a stunning blow."

"The **Advertiser** rejects the popular notion that good football and a high academic standing cannot coexist," said this Alabama newspaper. "They can. But there must be support and enthusiasm—from alumni, legislature and public—for the second as for the first."

The paradox at Auburn, in a way, symbolizes the situation of the nation. We are the undisputed No. 1 in material progress; we build the longest-tailed cars, the fanciest can-openers, the plushiest airlines—yet we have permitted ourselves to become second stringers in the world's most important science.

This country has the resources and know-how to support both championship football and superior scientific training; to maintain the world's highest living standards and the most formidable defense.

But if we must slight one or the other, let it be the first.

THE AXE IS OUT IN CONGRESS

60 bills to curb Supreme Court on rights and liberties ready

WHEN CONGRESS reconvenes next month, a first order of business will be an attempt to curb the Supreme Court. Sixty or more bills to limit the Court's powers or to modify or nullify recent rulings in the field of civil rights and liberties are already pending and more will be introduced.

Sen. James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, told a Rotary Club in Jackson, Miss., this month that he expects to lead off the fight in his committee; he was presented to the club as "the right man in the right place at the right time." But he will have friendly competition from a special subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee set up in the last session to study recent Supreme Court decisions; it is headed by Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D.-La.).

HOOVER'S WORD: The temper of the anti-Court crusade was suggested by the N.Y. **Daily News** last September in an editorial comment on an address by J. Edgar Hoover to an American Legion convention: "Without mentioning the Warren court by name, the FBI chief told the Legionnaires . . . that the government, in its efforts to combat the criminal communist conspiracy, is being 'stifled by technicalities and by the throwing of roadblocks in the pathway of our traditional methods of justice.' . . . The Warren court is making life easier for spies and subversives bent on our destruction. It is much to be hoped that Congress, which made a fair start at curbing the court in the recent session, will finish the job in the next session. This is an emergency."

In addition to measures that would partially or totally repeal recent rulings, there are proposals that would limit the terms of Supreme Court Justices; require periodic Senate approval of the Justices; give to the Senate final appellate jurisdiction in some cases; deprive the Court of the power to reverse its previous decisions; withdraw its power to review such matters as the functioning of Congressional committees and government loyalty programs.

WHIM AND CAPRICE: Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, reviews these and other measures in the fall issue of the **Georgetown Law Journal** and says their purpose is to subject the independent judiciary "to the whims and caprices of political life. Under these proposals, the Supreme Court could no longer stand in its place as an equal branch of our government."

Remarking that some recent rulings protecting individual rights in such crimes as rape and murder may make conviction of criminals more difficult, Sen. Hennings points out that "if the American people demand convictions and fool-proof internal security, then they must first repeal the Bill of Rights."

Former Sen. Harry P. Cain (R.-Wash.), a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board from 1953 to 1956, warns that another threat to the Supreme Court is contained in the recommendations of the President's Commission on Government Security. He told the Philadelphia chapter of Americans for Democratic Action on Dec. 12 that if the recommendations become law, "the independence and integrity of our courts will be in jeopardy."

A ROUGHSHOD RUN: The Commission, he said, would "run roughshod" over recent Court decisions that "speak out in support of the inherent importance of the individual." He added:

"Not only does the commission wish (a) to negate the . . . decision which limited the Federal employes security program to security-sensitive positions, and (b) to have the Congress invalidate the . . . decision where the Supreme Court held that a defendant is entitled to see the statement given investigative agents by the witnesses against him, but (c) by implication it raises doubts about the trustworthiness and even the loyalty of the Court."

A SURVEY DISPROVES THE POLITICIANS' PROPAGANDA

Is white South solid for segregation?

THE WHITE SOUTH has never been solid for slavery and segregation. Its leading politicians and propagandists have long said that was the case because they wanted it to be. But the majority of white people have always had to be bribed, cajoled and threatened into feigned or real enthusiasm for the jimcrow system; just as Negroes have been beaten, bombed and lynched into apparent acceptance of their "place." Often physical punishment has been the penalty for dissidence among whites, too.

In the Civil War, Virginia split in two on a line dividing slave soil from free. Even in the deeper South whole counties seceded from the Secession and fought with the Union: Jones in Mississippi and "Free Winston" in Alabama. Southern abolitionists were a small minority, but they existed, agitated the Southern conscience and helped sabotage the Confederate cause.

These anti-slavery Southerners of the past century left a fine, though largely-buried, legacy for the South today. A small but growing number of their grandchildren are attending to its fulfillment.

MINISTERS TAKE LEAD: Out in front are the ministers. Resolutions calling for adherence to the Supreme Court ruling on integration of the schools have issued from almost all important denominational bodies in the South. Even the Southern Baptist Church, long a traditional sanctuary of white supremacy, at a convention in Chicago last summer adopted a report of its Christian Life Commission which declared: "Discriminatory laws are futile. Jim Crow laws cannot solve the race problem."

Next month the Methodist Council of Bishops will meet in Ocean City, N.J., to canvass the official vote of 134 conferences on the question of abolishing the Central (jimcrow) Jurisdiction of the church and uniting Negro churches with white Jurisdictions.

The Catholic hierarchy of Louisiana has far outdistanced the lay membership in insisting on desegregation of Catholic schools— more than 50% of the schools in the state.

CONTRADICTION OF FAITH: Recently a white Southern minister told a friend: "I have been a prisoner of my conscience for 20 years." By freeing themselves, white clergymen are redeeming their function as keepers of the people's conscience. On Nov. 16 a group of 18 Bethesda, Md., ministers issued a statement condemning segregation as "a contradiction of our Christian faith." They pledged themselves to "uphold the enforcement of law and order in the community" and to "resist any organization which incites race prejudice and undermines respect for law."

Two weeks earlier a group of 83 Atlanta ministers made a similar commitment. While making plain their belief that equality could be attained under segregation, they nevertheless called for: (1) obedience of the law and the rejection of violence; (2) protection of freedom of speech; (3) maintenance of the public school system; (4) renunciation of hatred and scorn, and (5) strengthening communication "between responsible leaders of both races."

AUBREY WILLIAMS
"There's a change in the air"

The churchmen have not limited themselves to resolutions. Rev. Robert S. Graetz's home was bombed for his part in the Montgomery bus boycott. Rev. Paul Turner braved a mob to take a small group of Negro children by the hand into the Clinton, Tenn., high school. Ministerial associations have been integrated in more than a dozen Southern cities. In Richmond, while politicians were hatching "massive resistance" to desegregation, the ministerial association elected a Negro clergyman, Dr. J. M. Ellison, as president.

THE TURBULENT SCHOOLS: Educators and students have been vocal too. There was only one dissent among 360 delegates to the Arkansas Baptist Student Union Convention when they voted in October to uphold "the law of the land" and "the equal worth of all individuals, regardless of race, creed or state in life," and to oppose the use of violence in racial disputes.

Juvenile delegates from all of Richmond's schools on Student Government Day elected a Negro boy city manager. The Youth Institute of Human Relations of Asheville & Buncombe counties, N.C., appealed to President Eisenhower "to call a national conference of high school youth concerned with making our schools a living example of democracy and brotherhood."

VOICE OF THE PRESS: Newspaper publishers and editors constitute another resource for democracy in the South. The Louisville **Courier-Journal,** though it fired Carl Braden in the aftermath of his effort to secure decent housing for a Negro family, has supported desegregation of Kentucky public schools and enactment of civil rights legislation. The Charlotte (N.C.) **Observer** has editorially supported the token integration of 11 Negro children in schools in four North Carolina cities. Harry S. Ashmore, editor of the **Arkansas Gazette** of Little Rock, has been a persistent thorn in the side of Gov. Faubus. And even Ralph McGill, conservative editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) **Constitution,** has regained some part of the voice he once raised on behalf of decent race relations and Negro advancement.

Aubrey Williams, publisher of **Southern Farm & Home,** has been called the "dean of Southern liberals." He was director of the Natl. Youth Administration during the New Deal. He has never lost sight of the promise of the New Deal for a democratic reconstruction of the South. From Montgomery, Ala., he speaks out for integration, civil rights, a better living for white and Negro Southerners alike. Today Williams sees the South as "a worried and harried place." But, he notes, "the people are worked up and are waking up. There is change in the air."

Two additional journalistic barometers of the change are Harry Golden of Charlotte, editor-publisher of the **Carolina Israelite,** and P. D. East, who fulfills the same functions for **The Petal Paper** of Petal, Miss. Golden, who treats the race question with an erudition and whimsy reminiscent of Samuel Johnson, recently was awarded a "Citizen of the Year" citation by Johnson C. Smith University, a Negro institution at Charlotte.

THREE INSTITUTIONS: Outstanding among Southern organizations and institutions dedicated to the battle for democracy are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the Southern Regional Council, and the Highlander Folk School.

The SCEF is an outgrowth of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare which was organized in 1938 to tackle the social backwardness of the South, the problem which President Roosevelt described as "the nation's No. one economic problem." Under the chairmanship of Aubrey Williams, it is ably directed by Dr. James Dombrowski and maintains headquarters at 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 22, La.

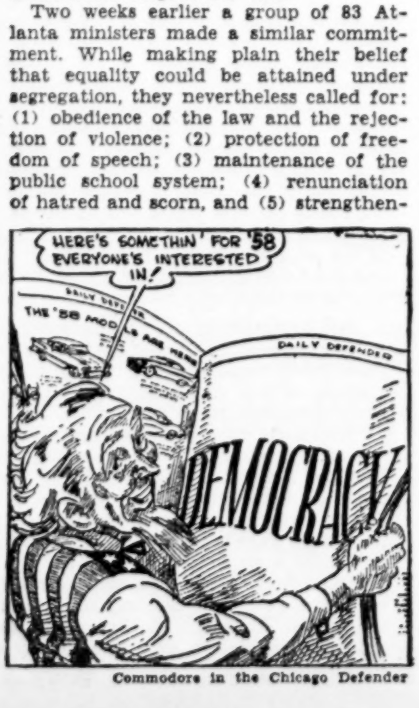
The Southern Regional Council was organized in 1944. It undertook to continue the work of the Commision on Interracial Cooperation which set out, in 1919, to "quench, if possible, the fires of racial antagonism which were flaming at that time." The Council sponsors state and local committees and produces valuable studies of developments in the race relations field. Its offices are at 63 Auburn Av., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Highlander Folk School for 25 years has been an outpost of democracy high in the Cumberland mountains at Monteagle, Tenn. Led by Myles Horton, it has attracted and trained labor leaders and integration leaders who have returned to their communities better equipped to carry on the battle.

THE TRADE UNIONS: In progressive initiative in the South the trade unions have lagged behind the rest. But that is another report for another time. For now it can be said, however, that the working men and women have as much of a militant heritage as any other group in the South. In July, 1845, a Southern labor editor, Casius M. Clay, wrote in **The True American:**

"When a journeyman printer underworks the usual rates he is considered an enemy of the balance of the fraternity, and is called a 'rat.' Now the slaveholders have **ratted** us with 180,000 slaves till forebearance longer on our part has become criminal. They have ratted us until we are unable to support ourselves with the ordinary comfort of a laborer's life. They have ratted us out of the social circle. They have ratted us out of the means of making our own schools. They have ratted us out of the press. . . . They have ratted us out of the legislature. What words can we use to arouse you to a sense of your deep and damning degradation?"

When the working men and women of the South are awakened to a "sense of their deep and damning degradation" resulting from segregation, the singular and trickling currents of opposition now evident could come to flood tide.



Commodore in the Chicago Defender

Hope rises for 5 Spanish sailors

ACLU atty. A. L. Wirin, right, confers in Los Angeles courtroom with five Spanish sailors who are fighting U.S. attempts to return them to Franco Spain. Co-counsel Hugh R. Manes, rear right, looks on.

FIVE SPANISH SAILORS who deserted two of Franco's warships in July to seek asylum in Mexico seemed closer to their haven this month after attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union all but toppled the road-blocks which the U.S. Govt. had placed across their path.

The five anti-fascists (Enrique Medina Fernandez, Gines Martinez, Victor Rodriquez, Manuel Fernandez Rodriquez and Augustine Cabrera Oroza) actually slipped across the U.S. border to Mexico when the Spanish destroyers docked at San Ysidro, Calif., on July 4, America's Independence Day. They were later returned to the U.S. in custody of U.S. naval authorities, handed over to the U.S. Immigration Service and ticketed for delivery to Franco.

DECEPTION CHARGED: Federal Judge Thurmond Clarke ruled Aug. 1 that the U.S. was obliged to return the sailors under terms of a 1902 treaty with Spain, even though they might face "imprisonment, torture and possibly death." He granted a stay pending appeal.

At a hearing on Dec. 9 in the Third Dist. U.S. Court of Appeals ACLU lawyers argued that the sailors had been virtually shanghaied into the U.S., after they had reached Mexican territory, "by deception, fraud and unlawful exercise of authority on the part of the U.S. Immigration Service." They presented an affidavit from the Mexican Minister of Interior expressing the Mexican Government's willingness to grant asylum if the seamen are permitted to re-enter Mexico.

The attorneys also pointed out that the U.S. is a signatory of the Constitution of the Intl. Refugee Organization, which defines as refugees "Spanish Republicans and other victims of the Falangist regime in Spain."

IS IT OUR DUTY? Pointed questions and comments of the judges strengthened hope among observers that the Appeals Court would overturn the lower court ruling. One judge wondered out loud "whether it was the duty of the U.S. to help the oppressor against the oppressed." Presiding Judge James Alger Fee commented: "The State Dept. might think it convenient to appease the Spanish Government, but we have no treaty obligation to apprehend these men after they had left the U.S. in order to hand them over to the Spanish Navy."

Californians have set up a Committee to Save the Five Spanish Sailors, whose chairman is poet Thomas McGrath. Contributions may be sent to McGrath at 154 Sargent Pl., L.A., Calif.

'THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY'

The story of Tibor Dery, Hungarian writer and rebel

By Elmer Bendiner

IN THE LAST WEEK of September, 1956, a few days before the outbreak of violence in Budapest, the GUARDIAN'S Ursula Wassermann talked with Tibor Dery, then 62 years old, one of Hungary's greatest novelists and a long-time member of the Hungarian Communist Party. Dery sent this message to GUARDIAN readers:

"The fight today is concerned with the concept of socialist democracy. The fight is hard and all the harder because we ourselves have not yet completely clarified this concept. I trust that we will reach our goal in the best and, I believe, the only possible way: through the closest contact with the realities of life."

The realities of Hungarian life in the year since then were bloody and wrenching, and today Tibor Dery is in a Hungarian prison, serving a nine-year sentence for "activities against the state."

BUREAUCRACY CHALLENGED: In the climactic June of 1956 a gale seemed to be blowing up in Hungary. Then it promised not bloodshed but a sweeping away of old terrors, corruption and malpractices that had grown up when socialism was under siege. It was in the same month that the workers in Poznan opened a new chapter in Polish socialism. In Hungary the challenge to long-entrenched bureaucracy came from the writers of the Petofi Circle, which had been holding stormy discussion meetings since March. On June 27 the Circle met to discuss freedom of the press in the Budapest Officers Casino, jammed with a crowd of 8,000. Hundreds more overflowed into other meeting rooms where they listened to the discussion through loudspeakers.

Dery spoke of the limitations of socialist liberties in Hungary, where "individual freedom finds far fewer advocates than social duty." He said: "I am a Communist. I cannot deny my profound sympathy for those confronted with this conflict. But in my view, the conflict still remains unsolved. . . . Here we are confronted with structural errors [in our society] which unnecessarily limit the rights of the individual. . . . As a writer my main concern is man. My criticism begins when I see men and women suffer unnecessarily."

Of the old communist leadership Dery said: "They build and function on suspicion and distrust. They underestimate the people's sense of honor and its moral force; its capacity to think and to create. But we who have always believed in our people . . . have the duty to create conditions under which love of life and love of work can once again function normally. The prerequisite for such conditions is honest thinking."

A NATION'S MOOD: Dery was given an ovation when he finished. The answer of the Hungarian CP was swift. It expelled Dery and another who spoke that day, journalist Tibor Tardos. Throughout the summer the winds rose in Hungary. Dery's tender novel **Niki, or, The Story of a Dog**, became a best seller. It revealed Dery's rebel mind and it plainly reflected Hungary's mood.

The story tells of a little fox terrier, Niki, who adopts an engineer named Ancsa and his wife in the heady days of 1948 when Budapest, despite all manner of privation, rides a joyful tide of hope and the Hungarian People's Republic is established. Slowly the abuses bring corruption, division and doubt. The engineer becomes director of a factory and finds it necessary to fire a dishonest employe who happens to be the friend of a high party official. He is arrested, framed and sent to jail for five years. Niki's world is shattered. On the day the engineer is released from prison the dog is dead—as Hungary's hope seems to be.

In Niki there occurs one passage which sums up Dery's monumental anger, which could not compromise. He wrote: "The abuse of power, that deadly vice of all kings, chiefs, dictators, of all managers, bosses, secretaries, of all shepherds, cow herders, pig herders, of all heads of families, educators, elder brothers, of all the old and young who are in charge of another's spirit; that stench, that disease, that focus of infection which is part of man and which is not developed in any other bloody beast; that curse and that blasphemy, that war, that plague was unknown in the Ancsa household. Niki's freedom was under no useless constraint."

THEY ARE ARRESTED: The stormy reaction to abuse of power in Hungary broke in October and brought in its wake the complicated, unforeseen and many-sided tragedy. Throughout the fighting Dery was active in the Writers' Assn. and, after the Soviet intervention, was elected to the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals. By December Hungary was quiet. In January Dery was arrested but released shortly afterward. In February journalists Tibor Tardos and Zoltan Zelk and playwright Gyula Hay were jailed. In April the Writers Assn. was dissolved and Dery was again arrested. The last long stretch of prison Dery had undergone was in 1935 under Horthy's fascist regime.

For months there was very little news of the writers. The charges were not publicized. For some Dery became a martyr; others, outside Hungary—who did not share Dery's passionate zeal for a socialist democracy—used his jailing to assail all socialism.

French and British writers appealed to Budapest for an open trial. From Budapest official circles there was only silence. This multiplied the fears of those who had hoped for a rebirth of socialist freedom in Hungary. The Hungarian writers answered with an undeclared strike. Through most of 1957 Hungary's most celebrated by-lines were missing from the press.

A number did sign a government-sponsored protest against the UN's resolution on Hungary, but many prominent writers were missing from the list. Foreign correspondents who tried to question those writers who did sign reported that many had left word they were "out of town" or "ill." It was only in October, 1957, that some of the better known writers began once again to appear in the literary journals.

THE SENTENCES: On Oct. 31 a Budapest criminal court tried the four writers. It was apparently a closed session. A spokesman for the Hungarian mission to the United Nations in New York said he had no information except that the four had been convicted. He could not recall the charges but said it dealt with "attempting to overthrow the government." He said the affair had received very little press coverage in Budapest.

The sentences were: Dery, nine years; Hay, six years; Zelk, three; Tardos, 18 months.

Premier Kadar, speaking to a group of farm cooperatives this month, said: "You know that it is being shouted everywhere in the West: Why don't we declare an amnesty? Why are the writers locked up? And so on. We answer: Because they were the attackers; our people lived and worked in peace, but even so they attacked. Those who attacked must be punished."

HALF AND HALF? Kadar's bitterness toward the writers and his denunciation of what seemed to be the "crime" of dissent contrasted oddly with a more liberalizing trend toward farmers and others who resist the pace of collectivization. Toward them Kadar was patient. Francois Feijto wrote in the Paris **Observateur** last October: "The Kadar regime, as it functions presently, cannot be considered a new edition, pure and simple, of the Rakosi regime. . . . In Budapest they say Kadar is half Rakosi and half Gomulka."

Some convicted of crimes had been sentenced to death by the Kadar government. By comparison the sentences handed the four writers seemed lenient; it may have been a reaction to world opinion. It may be that democracy is slowly rising in Hungary, but like all tides, it ebbs and flows. Dery and his fellow-writers were caught in an ebb tide. If history serves as a pattern they may be rehabilitated years from now and their imprisonment labeled an "excess." But the tragedy today—and a cause for protest—is that men should go to jail in a socialist land apparently for hailing freedom before its time.

THIS WAS A HUNGARIAN COURTROOM SCENE LAST MARCH
The accused was a man charged with editing an anti-Soviet newspaper in Hungary. The tribunal was headed by a woman judge. The trial was open. News of how the Dery trial was conducted was unavailable.

Benson's goal

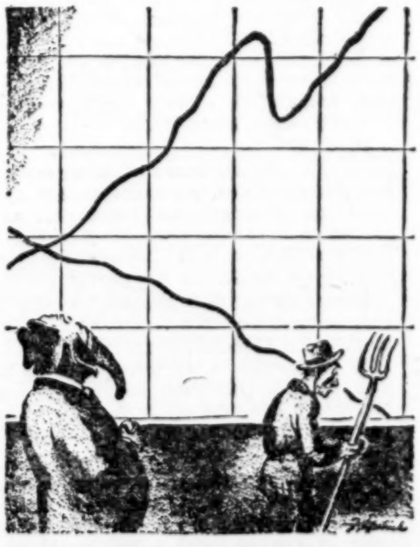
(Continued from Page 1)

world tour this fall, four Republican Midwest Congressmen publicly demanded his resignation. Several others, without publicity, let the White House and the Republican National Committee know that they thought Benson should go in the interests of the party. But on Dec. 3 Benson called a press conference in Washington and, spitting mad, read "a statement, not of resignation but one of resolution," and restated his basic principles. Asked if he had talked with the President about his stand, he replied angrily: "I cleared this with no one. This is my statement. I stand on it." This prima donna performance made it practically impossible for the President to let him go even if he wanted to.

DAIRY SUPPORTS CUT: On Dec. 18 Benson made himself more disliked by still more people by slashing dairy price supports to the legal minimum of 75% of parity. Dairy state Congressmen called the move "shocking" and "disastrous" and several announced they will introduce legislation to keep supports at the present levels of about 85% of parity. E. M. Norton, secretary of the Natl. Milk Producers Assn., estimated the cut will mean an annual loss of $250,000,000 for dairymen.

Benson's basic aim of eliminating the small farmer in preference for the big commercial-type enterprise has some powerful support. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** commented on Dec. 22:

"The ultimate solution to the small-farm problem, however, will only be found when the farmer realizes for himself that his is a doomed enterprise, and that a better life awaits him in some other sphere of activity. Yet even when he realizes it, he may still prefer farming to anything else. Love of the land has been a virtue for a very long time and it dies hard."



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
100% OF DISPARITY

They were eating too much, so . . .

Special to the Guardian

ARNSBERG, RHINELAND

AT THE TRIAL of five former SS men now proceeding in this town, German spectators were reminded why and how the Russian differs from the "Western" attitude on the "German question." The charge was murder of 208 "slave laborers" deported from the U.S.S.R. in 1945. The 208, including 77 women and two children, were loaded into trucks, marched into a forest, stripped and forced to dig their own graves. Soldiers who were in the execution squad testified that, hardened as they were to such scenes, they were "on the verge of revolt." One said: "When we saw there were children among those to be shot, we refused to fire, but staff officer Meisel volunteered to do the job." A warrant has been issued for Meisel, but he is in hiding.

The accused pleaded "orders from above"—in this case from SS Gen. Kammler, the camp commandant, who later blew his brains out. Reasons for the mass execution were given by accused Wolfgang Wetzling, a former SS military judge, who listened without emotion to the gruesome testimony and said:

"In 1945 the Russian deportees were eating too much. The orders received did not seem to me contrary to the laws of war. I did not notice that there were any women and children, but in any case my instructions were to execute the lot. The whole thing went off calmly and in good order."

THEY SEE IT AS A STAGE TO SOCIALISM

The Arab East today: Feudalism to capitalism

AGAINST OUTSIDE THREATS THE ARABS CLOSE THE RANKS
Gen. Afif Bizry, Syrian Army chief, speaks to Egyptian troops who arrived in Syria at the time of the border crisis with Turkey.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

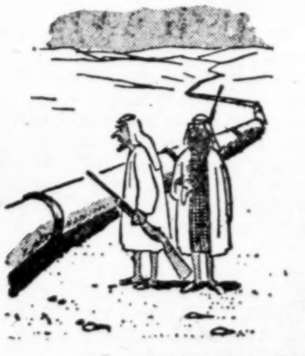
DURING A BUDGET DEBATE in the Syrian Parliament last spring, the right-wing People's Party proposed heavy taxes on capital to prevent its expansion. The Communist Party's sole deputy in Parliament, Khaled Bakdash, opposed it. The aim, he said, should be not to prevent but to encourage capital expansion. Syria's overriding need, he emphasized, was to increase industrial production.

This incident points to a seeming paradox in the Arab East today: the ideas of socialism are so popular that even the worst reactionaries must call themselves socialists; but the actual stage of historical development is the transition from fedudalism into capitalism.

ARAB SOCIALISM: The paradox is a sign of the times. An Alexandrian industrialist, who has been making good profits on sales to eastern markets in the last year, commented: "Westerners who accuse us of falling into a Soviet or comnunist trap do not realize the contradictions in what they say. The West's traditional role has been to keep us submerged in the night of feudalism. Now it wrings its hands while a Communist state helps us to establish capitalism. But history dictates that we should go through the necessary capitalist stage of development. In a sense, the history of British domination in the Middle East in the last 100 years can be summarized in these words: the period of colonialist struggle against rising Arab capitalism. Today the U.S. continues the same role."

The major popular preoccupation, however, is with socialism. For very few Arabs think of capitalism with the idea of permanence it had, for example, for a textile manufacturer in England in the industrial revolution.

The Arab liberation movement reflects this state of affairs. "The principal question now," said Ahmed El Mehaffel, CP leader of Aleppo, "is not socialism but national independence. Workers and peasants, after all, are not at this stage the principal force in the country. But they are, of course, an essential force in the movement. The Socialist current here cannot be understood as it is, for instance, in France and Italy. With us it is a political current against imperialism."



Sunday Times, London
"Can't we do something with this pipeline to stop its incessant Glubb-Glubb, Glubb-Glubb?"

RADICAL CHANGE: For almost a decade now growing popular demands for economic and social change have increasingly shaped the development of the liberation movement. The basis for these demands was wrought by the changes after the second world war: growth of the middle class; beginnings of an industrial working class; intellectual stimulus of socialist and New Deal ideas; increased political and economic consciousness of the peasants.

But these demands went on the national movement agenda only in the wake of the Palestine War, when a wave of humiliation and disgust against their own rulers and the imperialists behind them swept through the Arab people. It eventually exploded in a series of violent events: the assassination of King Abdullah in Jordan, the military coups in Syria, the Egyptian revolution, etc. This also led to demands for radical economic and social change.

In 1948 and after, a number of socialist parties sprang up. Most were socialist only in name. The intelligentsia engaged in a tumult of discussion over the meaning of socialism. And in the Arab East, where political parties in the Western sense have been almost unknown, some important ones—with definite political programs and goals—developed and exerted an influence far exceeding their actual membership.

THE "ARAB TOGLIATTI": In Syria and Jordan, relatively strong Communist and Socialist parties came to the fore in this period. Although illegal from 1948 until the fall of the Shishakly dictatorship in 1954, the CP of Syria carried on more or less openly. In the 1954 elections it elected its leader, Khaled Bakdash, to Parliament—the first Communist deputy to any parliament in the Arab world.

Bakdash, a handsome 45-year-old Kurd, has been CP general secretary of Syria and Lebanon since 1937. Sometimes called an "Arab Togliatti," he has attempted to adapt Marxism to Arab conditions and is the Arab world's acknowledged Communist leader. In Syria, Communist policy has been to promote an anti-imperialist popular front. The party is also linked in a "common action" front with Al Baath (Arab Socialist Resurrection Party).

Al Baath was born of the merger in 1952 of the Arab Baath Party, founded before the war by Selah Betar (now Syrian foreign minister) and others, and Akram Hourani's predominantly peasant Arab Socialist Party. Hourani's party had two deputies in parliament before 1954, Betar's, three. In 1954 the new Al Baath party elected 15. In four by-elections last spring, National Front candidates, backed by the Communists, Al Baath, the National Party and some independents, won all four seats. The triumph was repeated more recently.

THE NATIONAL FRONT: Al Baath appears to be largely a petty bourgeois and peasant party. It claims Marxism as the source of many of its ideas but rejects both the materialism and internationalism of Marxism, and sometimes sounds mystical. It is based, its leaders assert, "on principles accepted by all Arab Socialists: no exploitation; public ownership of the means of production; production for use not profit." But it seems to lack any clear idea as to how these goals are to be achieved. Yet it has been the most articulate in preaching the principle that Arab unity is possible and sensible only in terms of socialism.

In Jordan, the Communists began gaining ground in 1950-51 and have ever since played an increasingly important role. They led the popular movement which frustrated Western designs to draw Jordan into the Baghdad Pact and ousted Glubb Pasha from the Arab Legion. In Jordan's first free parliament of 40, elected in 1956, the Communists and Al Baath had two deputies each, and the National Front one.

The Front was organized in 1953 by a brilliant young physician, Abdul Rahman Shoceir, who was inspired by his reading "about the historical struggle in China." Although Shoceir himself was in a concentration camp during the elections (because he tried to expose the King's plans to use Iraqi troops to influence them) the by-and-large "genuinely nationalist" parliament which was returned represented a step toward this goal.

SMALL BUT POTENT: In Iraq, the CP, though weak, became a social force after World War II when it lead the great strikes in the oil fields, railroads and postal services. Later it was the leading force in the January 1948 uprisings and in the 1952 demonstrations against the West's Middle East Defense Pact. It is the strongest party in the recently formed National Higher Committee, the underground front which also embraces Al Baath, the Conference Party and the Kurdish Party.

In Egypt, the Communist parties (at one time there were as many as 22) were divided and isolated by their support for the statehood of Israel. No independent socialist party developed in Egypt, partly because the Wafd, which had led the fight against the British, opened its doors to the left.

The influence of these political parties in shaping and strengthening the anti-imperialist current, has been greater than their size. A group of Syrian peasants, asked about their political beliefs, replied: "We are Moslems so we are against communism and socialism. But if communism or socialism will really improve our lives, then of course we will be communists and socialists."

IF IT'S BAD NOW, HOW WILL IT BE IN JUNE?

Detroit: auto sales are off—and so are jobs

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

THE FIRST few months after the model changeovers are usually the busy months of the auto industry, when laid-off workers are called back and many work overtime. But, as even the industry's apologists are beginning to admit, something "unusual" is taking place this year.

The good old days

MANY PEOPLE are out of work. Night clubs are suffering . . . Gas and electric company salesmen tell how people are finding it terribly hard paying their many utility bills . . . Constables, who come around to collect the money or the merchandise—plus their own fees, are doing a big busines . . . Men and women are saying openly in the streets: 'If we don't get a good war scare soon and start building more defense goods, we are going to have relief again'. . . . House rent parties are flourishing again, police raid records show. House break-ins by burglars are mounting. Store thefts are on the rise, with people other than professional shoplifters engaging in stealing small items . . .

—Bill Lane, columnist for the
Michigan **Chronicle**,
Negro weekly, 12/14.

Ford announced layoffs of 3,333 in the Detroit area for December, cut out Saturday overtime in most of its plants, and dropped 400 from its assembly lines in Louisville. Chrysler laid off 400 at De-Soto, some with seven years' seniority, and announced a short work week at the big Dodge main plant.

New car sales are "disappointing," says Ralph R. Watts, automotive writer for the Detroit **News.** As a result, the corporations produced 5% fewer cars and trucks in November than they had originally scheduled, and December volume will be cut 66%.

Dealer inventories usually dwindle in this season, but not this year. Dealers started the 1958 model year with 200,000 1957 models on hand. Together with the new models, they had an inventory of about 464,000 cars on Nov. 1. It is expected to be higher at the end of the year, despite December layoffs.

JOBLESS FIGURES: Ward's Automotive Reports, trade publication, notes December passenger-car production, scheduled at 619,000 units a few weeks ago, was cut back to 577,180. Plans for producing 1,820,000 units in the first quarter of 1958 were scaled down to 1,717,200.

On Sept. 15, according to the Michigan Employment Security Commission, there were 256,000 jobless in the state (147,000 in the Detroit area). On Oct. 15, thanks to the callback for the new model, the state figure had fallen to 216,000 (132,000 in Detroit). The MESC then predicted the state figure would fall to below 140,000 in November. But on Nov. 15 there were still 200,000 jobless in the state (123,000 in Detroit). This was at the height of production.

In fact, unemployment for the last two years has hovered around 200,000 (100,000 in Detroit). Automation, speedup, runaway shops, and "saturation" of the auto market have been building a chronic reserve army of jobless in Michigan.

This is the situation in December, when things are at their best; the big worry is over what will happen next June, when the auto contracts expire.

Riot at Ephesus: A story without an end

Below is an abridged version of a sermon, entitled "Riot at Ephesus", given by the Rev. John R. Bodo, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, N. J., recently on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Church of the Air" program.

THE RIOT WAS OVER . . . But there was one man in that crowd who could not forget. His name did not get into the Bible, but he was there. We may call him Joe — Joe of Ephesus. He was a silversmith of solid reputation and a good businessman. Joe had heard Demetrius but he had not joined the crowd in the shouting.

Joe was a realist. He did not fail to grasp the obvious truth of Demetrius' opening words, "Men, you know that from this business we have our wealth." The great Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. According to tradition, gold instead of mortar had been used to join together the marble blocks of the giant octagonal structure which covered over an acre and a half of ground. Silver, the most precious metal next to gold, was just as widely used. The silversmiths of Ephesus had done well at the erection of the Temple and had been doing very well ever since. Thanks to the tourist trade, the demand for silver statuettes of the goddess was insatiable. Anything that threatened the cult of Artemis automatically threatened the livelihood of hundreds of silversmiths as well as of thousands of other workers in related trades and crafts. To this extent, Demetrius was right.

BUT JOE MUSED ON, Demetrius had not been content to point out the obvious economic implications of the Gospel at Ephesus. He had touched his fellow guild members quickly on this most sensitive point but had moved on at once to loftier considerations. "There is danger," he said, "not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis may count for nothing, and that she may even be deposed from her magnificence, she whom all Asia and the world worship."

Joe sensed that this was probably not the first time, nor the last, that the sanctions of patriotism and religion were being invoked on behalf of economic vested interests. He half-admired Demetrius for his subtle switch from the real, down-to-earth reason for his opposition to the Gospel to this noble, flag-waving defense of the great goddess Artemis, private deity of the Ephesians, to whom worshippers from all over the world paid homage—directly into the pockets of the businessmen and tradesmen of Ephesus!

Joe did not realize at the time his heart consented to the claims of Jesus of Nazareth that he was going to run such formidable risks. Religious non-conformity was one thing. Being accused of un-Ephesian activities was something else. But being classified as a religiously and politically suspect person was almost too much to face.

For Demetrius and the guild of silversmiths had considerable power over their members. If Joe incurred their wrath he might be warned first—then boycotted so that his profits would fall off—then squeezed out of business altogether. There might also be "accidents" to himself or to his employes, and social ostracism as painful as physical violence. Clearly if Joe knew what was good for him and for his business, he would not worry too much about relating his faith in Jesus Christ to the practice of his trade. He would stifle his misgivings, and perhaps give ten per cent of his earnings to the little Christian community.

IF JOE HAD BEEN A BACHELOR, his dilemma might not have been as acute. At least he would have had only himself to consider. A man is more likely to make a costly decision on moral grounds if he is risking only his own neck. But Joe was a family man. He had a wife and three children who depended on him.

Then too, Joe was a responsible employer. He estimated that if he were forced out of business for taking a bold Christian stand on this matter of idolatry and profit, his employes would lose their jobs, too. Joe did not know the Greek phrase for "guilt by association" but he was quite aware of the reality.

Joe was deadlocked. He could go neither forward nor backward. Joe knew that the most tempting alternative—going back to business as usual—was really no alternative at all, because, having once seen truth —God's down-to-earth Truth in Jesus Christ—he could never again live happily with the accepted set of lies.

THE ONLY OTHER alternative was to quit. Joe thought that perhaps he could ease out of the business by cutting down on the production of silver goddesses and developing a new line of silver tableware and other non-controversial products; or else try to make a slow, painful switch to some other totally different occupation. But even this alternative proved unacceptable to his new standards as a disciple of Jesus Christ. He realized that removing himself from an immoral system would do him little good in the eyes of God if he left the system itself unchallenged. It was the system that had to go—the vicious idolatry with all its phony patriotic and religious sanctions—and there was no one outside the system who could more effectively challenge it in the name of Jesus Christ than an insider; in other words, Joe. For Joe of Ephesus, the "Follow me!" of Jesus meant "Stay where you are and fight!"

And here began Joe's greatest discovery. He realized that all his life he had been a prisoner of fear—not of any concrete fear but of a vague, diffuse fear—fear of what people might say or think if he permitted himself just one unorthodox, unconventional move. For the sake of his business—for the sake of his good standing in the guild and the club—he had allowed himself to become less than himself, a look-alike man leading a look-alike life. Always he had been with the majority, a chip off the huge dull block of Ephesian respectability, prosperous and worried, gregarious and lonely, successful and futile. But now he saw a new horizon. It was a horizon overhung with dark, heavy clouds, but a horizon illumined even then by the brightness of Christ's promise of help and power! . . .

For the first time in his life, Joe was not paralyzed by statistics, forecasts, polls and graphs. Now he knew that when justice and truth are at stake, one man—or two or three—and Christ, are more than a majority!

BRAVE WORDS, are they not? I wish I knew the end of the story. I wish I could assure you that Joe won his fight without harm to himself or his wife and children, that his business, after a few jolts, was reorganized and flourished more than ever, and that the whole city of Ephesus, purged of the goddess Artemis and all her evil brood, lived happily ever after. The plain truth is that I do not know. Artemis and the system which fed upon her cult vanished, to be sure, but so did Joe. How big a part he played in the downfall of the system, I do not know. It may well be that he barely made a dent before the system caught up with him and crucified him. But what of it? If a cross was good enough for Jesus of Nazareth, should it not be good enough for Joe of Ephesus?

SPUTNIK AT THE ASSEMBLY

Unexpected guest leaves his mark on UN record

THE UN General Assembly's 12th session, which opened with the promise of dramatic decisions on several important issues, wound up on Dec. 14 with the promise largely unfulfilled, but with progress toward major goals.

The 82-member organization this fall was the "victim" of unforeseen events. Alignments seemed to change under the spell of the sputnik; formerly solid ranks to break in confusion over Washington's exclusively military reaction to the sputnik's challenge. The Soviet advances suddenly altered the frame of reference in which issues had been previously discussed in the UN. Most members sought time to catch their breath.

Several things, however, were fairly clear: U.S. ability to corral a decisive majority for issues it supported was further weakened; members were less hesitant to support constructive measures favored by the U.S.S.R.; neutralist nations had a greater opportunity to play a moderating role.

THREE BIG ISSUES: Philippines Ambassador Carlos Romulo said at the session's end that the strong, pro-Western "resolutions of yesterday have been replaced by more moderate, conciliatory and even innocuous resolutions" because of the "canny tactics of the Soviet Union and the support it had been able to obtain among the neutrals."

UN decisions on three important issues undersocored the shifting sentiment: (1) disarmament; (2) recognition of China; (3) a substantial UN fund for economic progress in undeveloped countries.

- The Assembly rejected the U.S. demand for unconditional endorsement of Washington's disarmament proposals and partially supported the Soviet demand for an enlarged Disarmament Commission, with the neutrals holding the balance of power, by addition of 14 members to the commission.
- Support for Peking's claim to China's UN seat registered a marked increase.
- Backers of SUNFED (Special UN Fund for Economic Development) scored a substantial victory by forcing the U.S. appreciably to modify its opposition to the fund. It accepted a compromise resolution tripling the UN Technical Assistance Fund to $100,000,000, to which the U. S. would contribute $30,000,000. The resolution — passed unanimously — stipulated that the technical assistance increase would not prejudice the later establishment of SUNFED with the capacity to spend $500,000,000 annually.

ALGERIA AND CYPRUS: Colonial issues came to the fore in the closing days. The assembly asked administering authorities to set an approximate date when trust territories would achieve self-government. It warned them against further expropriation of land in these territories and called for reports on Western Europe's plans for integrating trust territory economies with the European Economic Community.

Algeria and Cyprus provoked the most acrimonious debate.

On Algeria, France, while refusing to participate in the voting, insisted it would negotiate with the Algerian freedom fighters only on the issue of a ceasefire. Tunisian President Bourguiba said: "The Algerians did not take up arms but to achieve their independence. One cannot envisage how a cease-fire could be negotiated if the Algerians have not achieved this independence." The Assembly finally voted 80-0 for French-Algerian parleys "with a view to a solution" consistent with the UN charter.

THIS CYPRIOT BOY'S PLEA WENT UNANSWERED AT UN

A policeman carries one of 20 boys hurt at a Nicosia school earlier this month in a demonstration against British rule.

On Cyprus, because of a conflict of interests and the approaching NATO conference, a Greek resolution on self-determination for Cyprus failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

HUNGARIAN QUESTION: The bitterest East-West debate involved Hungary. Both the Soviet Union and Hungary have refused to discuss last year's events in Hungary with a UN commission headed by Thailand's Prince Wan Waithayakan, set up at the Assembly's last session. Despite pressure from the West, the Assembly refused to pass judgment on the credentials of the Hungarian representatives, thus in effect accepting them. U.S. delegate Lodge announced he would call the Assembly into special session on Hungary early next year.

The session ended with a "live and let live" plea. Without opposition, but with Chiang's representative abstaining, the Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia. It urged all nations "to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly and cooperative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means."

W. Europe demands

(Continued from Page 1)

THE SCENE IN PARIS
The President is shown to his seat in the Palais de Chaillot meeting room for the NATO parley as the newsreel and TV cameras grind away in the background of this international mosaic.

NATO meeting in response to the Soviet sputnik challenge. President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles went to Paris to obtain missile bases from mostly reluctant allies, to place IRBM's the U.S. did not have (they won't be ready for at least 18 months) among allies who did not want them. They also sought to prevent NATO members from negotiating with Moscow.

What they got was an agreement "in principle" by NATO members to consider missiles and sites and to reject them if they so wished. It was a stunning defeat especially for Dulles, who had told a news conference on Dec. 10: "I don't favor a great deal these so-called agreements in principle [which] never get anywhere." Even this agreement in principle came at the cost of accepting East-West negotiations.

EUROPE'S DESIRE: The defeat was the more humiliating for the incredible manner in which the Administration approached the Paris conference. Washington was surely aware of the profound West European desire for coexistence. Secy. Dulles and especially his brother Allen, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, are privy to the thoughts and aspirations of most citizens of allied nations.

With supreme and arrogant confidence, Dulles preceded the President to Paris, sure that "the U.S. would dominate the meeting (a reasonable decision since we pay most of the bills) and that what he or Eisenhower proposed to beef up the NATO forces against Russia would be promptly accepted" (N.Y. **Daily News**, 12/19).

The proposals themselves, Walter Lippmann noted, were "such a crude miscalculation of European interests and of European feelings that it is no wonder the conference has shown such spectacular lack of confidence in American leadership."

ADENAUER'S ROLE: The initiative slipped from U.S. and Britain, which had "agreed to help sell U.S. missiles to a reluctant Europe" (N.Y. **Times**, 12/15). It was picked up by the Scandinavians, genuinely opposed to missile sites, and by Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, who played a most astute game.

Aware of the extraordinary emphasis the U.S. has placed on rearming West Germany, Adenauer who in the past "has been defeated by the adamancy of Dulles in keeping NATO strictly military" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 12/20), assumed the role of moderator and took credit for shifting the emphasis to economic cooperation, removal of trade barriers and talks with Moscow.

By helping to concoct a communique which is already being interpreted differently by each NATO member, the shrewd Chancellor, without committing himself, cut the ground out from under his opposition at home demanding an East-West settlement.

RUSSIAN REACTION: Moscow's response to the NATO communique came fast. Speaking before the Supreme Soviet on Dec. 20, Foreign Minister Gromyko said it merely invited the Soviet Union "to sit again at a conference table with the same NATO members"—who outnumber Moscow 4-1—"with whom we have patiently negotiated until now, and to launch again into sterile negotiations which do not advance the cause of disarmament one whit."

Regards, Paris

Gromyko suggested that East and West explore "common points of departure," try to agree on "tentative" steps, such as a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe proposed by Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Scandinavian countries. Such steps, he said, would "help pave the way for the solution of the disarmament problem as a whole." Soviet CP First Secy. Khrushchev endorsed Gromyko's proposals.

On the evening of Dec. 23 an uncomfortable President and a sanctimonious Secretary of State reported to the nation by TV and radio on the NATO conference. The gist of the report was that the U.S.S.R. had to prove its "sincerity" about peace. That same evening Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union was planning new cuts in its armed forces on the basis of the NATO communique's disavowal of the use of force.

SAY "UNCLE" SAM! The biggest obstacle to negotiations with Moscow is Dulles' inflexible notions about the Soviet Union. The more these notions have been proved fallacious, the more he seems to cling to them. He has expanded Secy. of State Acheson's policy of dealing with Moscow from "a position of strength," to make Moscow cry "uncle" by confronting it with overwhelming force. Yet Moscow has neither been provoked nor has it submitted on Washington's terms.

Dulles has repeatedly barred negotiations—he torpedoed the promising London disarmament conference last spring—on the ground that the Soviet leaders "cannot be relied upon to live up to their promises." As an example, he said Moscow has failed to honor its pledge, allegedly made at the 1955 Geneva summit meeting, to promote German reunification through free elections.

THE GERMAN QUESTION: The Soviet leaders, in fact, are hard bargainers; but, as Soviet authority Edward Crankshaw said in the London **Observer**, they "do not freely break agreements." At Geneva, the only agreement was "that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security."

The **Manchester Guardian** (12/6) said "there is no suggestion here that Marshal Bulganin had committed the Soviet government to holding free, all-German elections irrespective of what could or could not be agreed on other related matters." The summit directive was an effort to resolve the differences between (1) Washington's insistence on interpreting "interests of European security" to mean a reunited Germany in NATO, and (2) Moscow meaning Germany's inclusion in an "all-European security system," taking in both East and West Europe and the U.S.

THE "LIFE" ARTICLE: Dulles let the cat out of the bag in an article he wrote for **Life** (12/23) just before he left for Paris. He rejected several peace proposals and said the U.S. "cannot rely on a world-wide 'armistice' agreement **except as we can enforce it.**"

The spectacular Soviet industrial progress precludes Washington's ever being able to "enforce" its brand of agreement on the world. The only enforceable "armistice" from now on is one that is mutually agreeable to both Washington and Moscow.

"On the crucial question of negotiating" with Moscow, Lippmann said, Dulles remains "dogmatically at odds with the interests and the purposes of most, if not all, of our European allies." By his "loud and public protests against negotiations," he has managed "to disqualify himself as the negotiator in the negotiations which will nevertheless be carried on . . . If then there is a failure, will it ever be possible for Dulles to persuade the people of the world that he has not meant the negotiations to fail?"

THE GAITHER REPORT: But Dulles was not the only deterrent to peace negotiations. U.S. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) has come out for a sharply accelerated missiles program. Ominous reports have been leaking out of the top secret findings of former Asst. Defense Secy. Frank C. Nash and of a committee headed by former Ford Foundation chairman H. Rowland Gaither Jr.

- **The Nash report** is said to have stressed that "the U.S. must make every effort to preserve its network of overseas bases" because "manned bombers would be the chief reliance of Western defenses for at least ten years."
- **The Gaither committee** was set up to survey the whole scheme of American and Soviet power, and its report was more spine-chilling. The **Herald Tribune** (12/22) said: "As the awful knowledge of the report unfolded to the committee members . . . some members became physically ill. Two members had heart attacks, as did a member of a peripheral committee."

The naked truth

THERE'S A STRIPPER named Nato who bills herself as "The Stacked Pact."

—Robert Sylvester in the N.Y. **Daily News**, 12/20

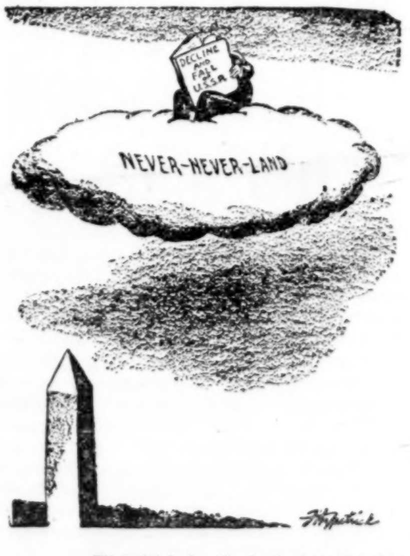
PREVENTIVE WAR?: According to the **Herald Tribune** story, the Gaither report found that, because of the Soviet Union's fantastically increased strength, "no matter what we do between now and 1961, the Russians have the upper hand [and] the U.S. must rely primarily on the good-will of the Soviet Union to avoid destruction." The report is said to have proposed vastly increased military expenditures plus a $22,000,000,000 bomb shelter program.

Columnist Drew Pearson said (12/18) the report also hinted "in guarded terms" that the U.S.—because it is becoming a second-class power—should not wait to be attacked but should attack Russia first. To Pearson this spelled preventive war. The Gaither report has created such anxiety that demand for its publication is increasing both in the press and in Congress.

PROMPTED BY FEAR: Europeans, however, do not believe in the possibility of Soviet attack; they followed up the NATO conference with increasing demand for East-West negotiations.

The **New Statesmen**, for example, said (12/21): "The Soviet Union is not, as the Pentagon seems to imagine, planning a Pearl Harbor . . . The vast Russian expenditure on weapons, and their desperate efforts to achieve a technological lead in the race, are prompted by a deep-rooted fear of the West . . . We believe that Mr. Khrushchev is sincere when he endorses the new Polish plan for 'nuclear disengagement' in Central Europe. [This] proposal can provide a foot in the door to peaceful coexistence . . . The West must treat Russia not as an aggressive outlaw, but as a stable world power."

The conservative London **Economist** last week proposed that the West explore the possibility of a neutral zone in Central Europe and suspension of nuclear tests as a first step towards disarmament. The London **Times** supported the **Economist's** proposals.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
WASHINGTON'S SPACE PROJECT

Former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow George Kennan felt the NATO conference had made the road to peace "more difficult," repeated his proposal for a neutralized Germany. A London **News Chronicle** poll showed 85% in Britain in favor of East-West talks. Eighty-four members of the Heidelberg University faculty in West Germany in an open letter to Adenauer voiced their distaste for the Western policy of "strength."

FOOTNOTE: In a letter to the London **New Statesman** in reply to an earlier open letter by Bertrand Russell, Khruschev again urged U.S.-U.S.S.R. negotiations. He warned that transforming Britain "into a U.S. base for nuclear and rocket weapons will bring no good either to world peace or Britain's own security." Lord Russell's letter had been addressed to President Eisenhower too. From Washington there was no reply.

PUPPETS, DUCKS, ATOM-SMASHERS AND FANCY FIGURES

Science on television—post-sputnik boom

SOVIET SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES have produced a small bonus for TV viewers. The shock of finding that someone else knows as much as we Americans —or even more—has the networks trying feverishly to inform and entertain us back to our former superiority. The results are some fair-to-excellent scientific programs and series. In a few of these the great men of our sciences are brought out of the relative obscurity we formerly reserved for them. Old and new discoveries and informed guesses on what is ahead are presented, sometimes drily and sometimes dramatically.

CONQUEST: In the first of CBS's **Conquest** series, oceanographer Maurice Ewing of the Lamont Geological Laboratory said that our knowledge of the earth today is about on par with what we knew of the atom in 1900. He predicted a similar train of discoveries and advances growing out of the International Geophysical Year. Nobel prize-winner Wendell Stanley described his work with viruses and the possibility of controlling and creating life. The second program, scheduled for Jan. 19, will have Dr. Gerald Kuiper of the Yerkes Observatory; Dr. Julian Allen, American pioneer in solving part of the "re-entry problem" for rockets and satellites, and film coverage of Antarctica.

NUMBERS GAME: In **Adventures in Number and Space**, the Bil Baird marionettes bring an introductory or refresher course in mathematics to Dumont-Channel 5 viewers in New York and Westinghouse channels in Boston, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cleveland and San Francisco on Monday nights. The first program on the origins and development of our number systems was too cute. The second, on binary arithmetic, the system on which the electronic calculators work, was better. Perhaps this came about by a concentration on facts and visual demonstrations and fewer attempts to force-feed lines to the marionettes, Snarky and Gargle. Other programs dealt with algebra, geometry and probability and will be followed by popular treatments of trigonometry and topology and a final one on careers in mathematics.

GEOPHYSICAL YEAR: The IGY is the title and subject of another Sunday series, by NBC-TV. Its first showing explored the seas; its second covered glaciology and Antarctica. On Dec. 15 the ice ages and the past and future shifts of land masses were discussed by Dr. Carey Croneis of the IGY Educational Comm. who delivered a large helping of information and ideas. IGY world cooperation and new methods will correct our maps—which are now globally inaccurate by as much as a mile—to within five feet. In an age of peaceful jets and rockets, to miss by a mile would be more than a figure of speech. Geological and glacial evidence was given for reviving the idea that S. Africa and S. America were once connected and have "floated" apart.

DR. MAURICE EWING
Man with a floating laboratory

ASTRONOMY AND DUCKS: Disneyland continues to mix nature wonders, information and fantasy, often in ways that make them hard to tell apart. A recent show on the planets had the history of astronomy, prehistoric monsters and Donald Duck interwoven. When the realities of science are so astonishing in their own right, the too artful imagination sometimes seems misplaced. But **Disneyland** continues to be entertaining and informative.

SURVIVAL: In the series called **Survival**, the Conservation Foundation and NBC sound a quiet alarm on wasted resources and over-population. This is delivered in lecture style with little visual aid and no dramatization. In statistics-loaded talks we were taken back through the food-production-and-population-balance of prehistoric and historic times up to the present where two-thirds of the world's population never has enough to eat. In the light of our food needs the challenging—and probably arguable—idea was advanced that heredity (and Mendelianism) are more important to us than evolution (and Darwinism). The possibilities of improved cultivation and of farming the seas were discussed fairly.

FUNNY LITTLE MEN: Among memorable single programs was Wide Wide World's **The Endless Frontier** on Dec. 8, in part of which Nobel Prize winners Lawrence and McMillan of the University of California at Berkeley talked about their work and led the camera around the big atom-smashing bevatron and showed its ancestor, the world's first cyclotron. In another part, the idea that our science may be lagging because it is not sufficiently respected got a field check among school kids. Disrespect for intellect may well be more of a symptom than a cause of our troubles, but the symptoms are startling. High school girls gave their ideas of scientists as "funny little men . . . that no one would want to marry." A boy thought they were "a kind of social outcast."

The program finished with a brief but wonderfully impressive tour of a "deserted village." This was the now-empty polio section of the Pittsburgh hospital where Dr. Salk developed his vaccine. When questioned about the science "crisis," Salk was less interested in getting ahead of the Soviet Union than in our doing our own best to advance knowledge as fast as we are able.

Small-d democrats have long hoped that the people might some day become scientifically-minded realists who could not be too easily misled. Free public schools were one of the steps toward this goal. The new mass communication media, especially radio and television, seemed to offer another before they fell so completely under the control of merchandisers and pipe-dream pushers. But even here and now, given moderately good productions, science as TV fare apparently can compete for audience attention without resorting to hysteria about a crisis.

Live telecasts and documentary movies on science in action in its limitless fields provided good material in several of the shows mentioned. So did interviews with leading scientists. And the old reliable teaching method of experimental demonstration—which has been so well adapted to TV in the excellent **Mr. Wizard** series (NBC)—comes over as convincingly in telecasts as it has always done in the lecture halls.

—**Robert Joyce**

TOWARD A NEW DAY IN DIXIE

'The Big Boxcar'—life in the Deep South

IT MAY WELL BE that, blow for blow, life in the Deep South is rougher than in any other place in the world—for some people. In a most readable first novel*, Alfred Maund spares none of the roughness and describes it all with the bluntest of words where blunt words are needed—and yet comes up with a "happy" book. His characters all get far more than their share of lumps but they are indestructible; they bounce through all troubles and at the end are still headed for freedom. Not even the Birmingham police can hold them all back.

In the beginning five Negro men and one Negro woman, dressed as a man, are fugitives in a boxcar rattling North out of Mississippi, fleeing from the private pains of their pasts. Along the way they pick up a fellow-traveler, a white man freshly escaped from a chain gang with the law hot behind him.

ALFRED MAUND
A strange set of pilgrims

They are all sinners and they are all loners and at the beginning they mistrust each other. But that is before The Woman sort of takes over leadership of the group, and before one of them suggests that, as a means of passing the time and easing the tension, each tell his or her story.

THE BULK of the book consists of the tales told, and no set of pilgrims ever pooled a more hair-raising set of adventures. The tales are racy, sometimes bawdy, and collectively they shed more light on Negro-white relations in the South than any massive sociological study of Dixie.

The entrance of the white chain-gang escapee produces a boxcar crisis because his presence insures a police search for the train at its first stop in Birmingham. Promptly nicknamed Jonah, he was about to be thrown off when The Woman won him a reprieve by insisting they hear his story. His tale of woe wins him a sort of kinship with the group; although he was a Fluke, a name that meant something in his county, there were two wings of his family. One was the Go-to-bank Flukes and the other was the Gone-to-seed Flukes and he belonged to the wrong wing.

By the time the train reaches Birmingham and almost certain death and bloodshed, the pilgrims have achieved a sense of unity, the white man is granted protection, and The Woman devises a strategy for outwitting the police. How she does it is more hair-raising than any of the tales told. Her solution may come as a shocker to many a reader but they won't put the book down.

THE NOVEL is written with a crisp, tangy, earthy style which strangely combines brutality and beauty.

The author is a Southern-born and bred white (Phi Beta Kappa, Tulane) who knows too well what he is writing about. He has long been associated with the progressive Southern Conference Educational Fund and is a regular contributor to its official paper, **The Southern Patriot.** His novel is another step toward a new day in Dixie.

—**Lawrence Emery**

**THE BIG BOXCAR, by Alfred Maund. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 178 pp. $3.*

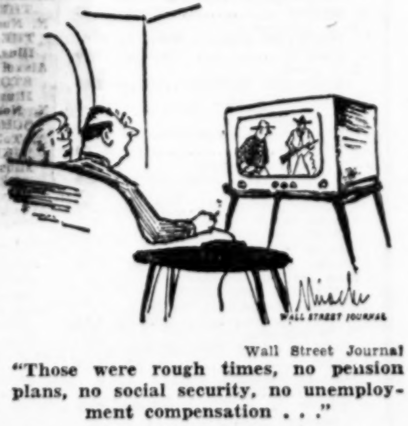
Scare head

Editor—Your headline on Page 10, December 9, threw a new scare into us. It read: "Moscow: U.S. Will Get Satellite in the End."

Some day those Russians are going to go one step too far.

F. P. CRONEMILLER
Los Altos

Letter to the editor in
San Francisco **Chronicle**, 12/12



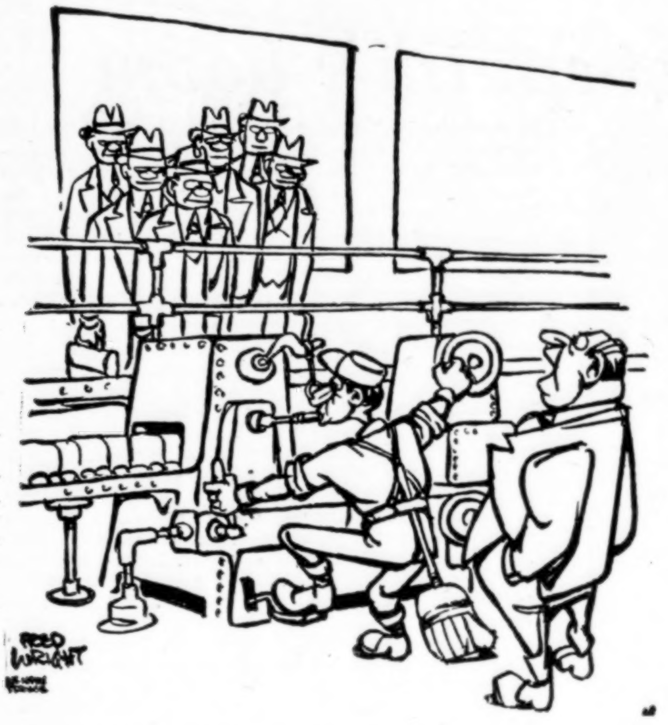
Wall Street Journal
"Those were rough times, no pension plans, no social security, no unemployment compensation . . ."

On the care and feeding of the complexion

R. M. POLIKARPOVA, noted Soviet cosmetologist, advises:

- Most women can improve their complexion by use of simple creams, especially in winter.
- A good, low-cost cream can be made from 4 parts vegetable oil (i.e. sunflower seed oil) and one part lanolin; add a drop of perfume.
- White creams are simply oily creams emulsified with water which plays no useful part.
- In order to be effective the cream must be greasy, hence greaseless creams are of little value.
- Creams should be applied with massage.
- To be most effective, cosmetics should be prescribed after a thorough medical examination. But there is no question that proper creams improve the skin.

—**Northern Neighbors**, Toronto, November issue.



—Drawing by Fred Wright

"Furthermore, gentlemen, he's strictly non-Union."

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS FROM THE USSR IN ENGLISH

FICTION

Mikhail Sholokhov	VIRGIN SOIL UPTURNED (Novel)	420 pp	$1.50
Vera Panova	LOOKING AHEAD (Novel)	208 pp	1.00
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Hall lecture series on L.A. minorities

THE UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP for Social Justice at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles announced last week a series of five lectures by Martin Hall, writer and lecturer, dealing with the minority groups in Los Angeles, their achievements and problems.

The talks, to be followed by a question period, will deal with the Mexican Americans, Jan. 6; the Negro Community, Jan. 20; the Japanese Americans, Feb. 3, and the Los Angeles Jews, Feb. 17. A concluding lecture, "Building Our City Together," will be given March 3. All lectures will take place in the Severance Room at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., just east of Vermont. Series tickets for all five lectures are $3, single admission 75c.

Hall has lectured widely throughout the U.S. and has contributed to many national publications, including the GUARDIAN, and the New Statesman in London. A number of monographs on Los Angeles minorities by Hall has been published by the Chicago Jewish Forum Quarterly.

CALENDAR

Chicago

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A PANEL DISCUSSION with Nina Landau, David Hollister, and Sheila Greenberg **JUST RETURNED FROM CHINA.** Preceded by showing of slides of New China. Moderator: Gil Turner, Ch'mn Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 28, 8 p.m., at Werdermann's Hall, 160 3rd Av. (near 16 St.) Cont. 50c. Auspices: Young Socialist Alliance.

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Publications

Just off the press: the first issue of **JEWISH CURRENTS** (formerly Jewish Life), with, among other features, a symposium of Sholem Asch by Sidney Finkelstein, Aaron Kramer and Ben Levine; Clevaland 50 years ago, by Joseph Morgenstern; Issues and Events, by Morris U. Schappes, the new editor. Single copy, 35c; subscription $3 per year, USA and possessions, $3.50 outside USA. JEWISH CURRENTS, Room 601, 22 East 17 St., New York 3, WAtkins 4-5740.

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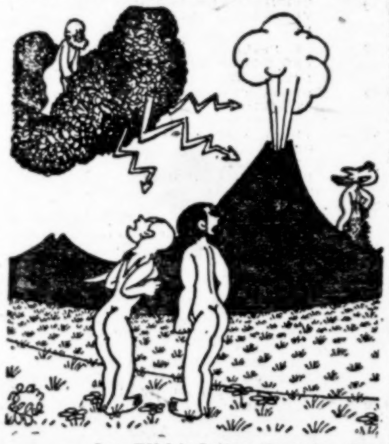
THE GALLERY

A SCARY BIT OF SUBLIMINAL tampering is being inflicted on convicts in Tulare County's Woodland Road Camp near Visalia, Calif. When a prisoner goes to bed a small voice seemingly from within his pillow murmurs like a sermonizing hypnotist: "You can and will solve life's problems. . . . You are filled with love and compassion for all. You do this with the help of God." Then it puts words in the mouth of the poor prisoner: "I am filled with love and compassion for all, so help me God."

The voice, coming from an earphone beside the pillow, keeps it up for 10 minutes, then goes off, resumes an hour later and goes on with the treatment all night. Tulare County public defender John Locke said the idea was to join the subconscious and the conscious in order "to implant moral principles necessary for living successfully in society." The Visalia Kiwanis Club and the Tulare Peace Officers Assn. are behind the sleep-talking scheme. . . . All TV networks have banned subliminal advertising. This, for the moment protects those of us still on the outside. If Constitutional provisions against "cruel and unusual punishment" can't protect prisoners, some suggest a law against trespassing on anybody's subconscious.

IN DETROIT, a young student, accused of draft dodging, told the court, he refused to be drafted because it would violate his concept of love toward his fellow men—including an enemy. . . . Said Judge Freeman: "I feel that this young man is badly misguided. It is fortunate for all of us that his opinions are not general among all the young men of our country. There would be nothing left for us—not even a way of life—if his opinions were shared by all men his age."

IF AT ANY TIME OF THE DAY or night, you are in Madison, Wisc., and find yourself in need of an inspirational message or the biography of a saint, you can dial 5-9433. An automatic recorded message, calculated to inspire, along with a concise biography of the saint of that particular day will come to you through the courtesy of the Seven-Up Bottling Co. and the Catholic Information Center. . . . From star-wise CBS Radio's press release: "Christmas Sing With Bing," starring Bing Crosby as host, featuring the Vatican Choir from Rome." . . . At the Dec 8 Sunday morning service Rev. Carl A. Moberg told his congregation at the Little River Baptist Church in Florida that space travel would be limited to members of the Church, as told in John:14 where Christ is described as returning to meet his Church in the Air. Rev. Moberg added: "Russia is being used by Satan to bring about achievements for the purpose of discrediting the Bible and, if possible, proving the non-existence of God. She will be permitted to succeed to a point and then her extermination."



Jean Effel in Lettres Francaise, Paris

THE FIRST BOMB EXPERIMENTS
Adam and Eve: "Halt the tests! Halt the tests!"

ACCORDING TO A HUNGARIAN newspaper, the Soviet Union in a few years will send a satellite aloft carrying a TV relay station, enabling viewers in China and the South Pole to watch Russian ballet . . . A U.S. general frantically warned that a Soviet one-ton satellite would soon be jamming radar along the DEW line and perhaps even interfering with U.S. TV.

FIGHTING FIRE WITH FIRE the Volunteer Fire Dept. of Centreville, Va., held a dance for teen-agers to keep them off the streets. Police came by and found 50 pairs sitting the dance out in parked cars nearby. Officer John F. Briggman said some were snuggling and some were drinking beer. Eight youths were arrested . . . Police said that at a similar affair [illegible] anged by the nearby Fire Dept. at Chantilly the boys and girls "took over and raised cain generally."

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR'S monumental work on the woman question, **The Second Sex,** will be re-issued by Knopf publishers in New York on Jan. 13. The new edition, uncut, will cost $4.95, marked down from the original edition price of $10 . . . The Daisy Manufacturing Co., makers of air rifles and other toys for lethally-minded kiddies, last month announced plans to move its Plymouth, Mich., plant to Rogers, Ark. D[illegible]sy's exec. vice president Cass Hough said wages in Arkansas will [illegible] about $1 less than the Michigan rate, $2.24 an hour. Actually they could pay as little as $1 and hour, the Federal minimum. Arkansas is what the **Intl. Molders and Foundry Workers Journal** calls a "right-to-wreck" state with laws banning the union shop. . . . John L. Lewis will be interviewed by Martin Agronsky on ABC's TV program **Look Here,** Jan. 5.

HANDIEST AND MOST INSPIRING CALENDAR out for 1958 is compiled by the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Place, New York 38, N.Y., $1.25, six for $7 postpaid anywhere in the U.S. Spiral-backed with foldover cover (designed by Ivan Chermayeff); the size of a No. 10 envelope suitable for pocket or desk, it devotes a page for each week in the year with extra note space and a '59 calendar page in the back. Plenty of room for daily appointment jottings, liberally sprinkled with memorable anniversaries in the world struggle against war, plus a good thought for each week by people ranging from Jefferson, Shelley, Voltaire, Tolstoy to Gandhi, A. J. Muste and Sheriff Sharp of Alamo, Nev., who says of the H-bomb tests: "We don't like 'em. Nobody's been hurt so far, but we don't know what they may do to our children and grandchildren."

Greetings from GBS

THIS HAS BEEN our first chance to get from under the wrapping paper to thank you for making this the biggest year in GBS history. We broke all records for number of customers, dollar sales, amount of holiday cards sold, etc.,—and profitwise, too.

During the next year we hope for your continued patronage and may we suggest you invite your friends to shop the GBS way. We expect to have a new and interesting selection of items — you know our record prices are the lowest in town. And we understand our vitamin copy-writer is flying back from an international Niacinamide symposium chock full of helpful and gay hints on health.

As a sneak preview we can tell you there's a new vitamin formula in the works to please your sweet tooth and a new batch of LP recordings by the Soviet virtuosi, Gilels and Kogan, who are about to barnstorm the Hurok circuit in the U.S.

See you next year

THE MAIL BAG

Race science?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your correspondent in Israel, Ursula Wassermann, considers it important to inform us about the latest great "revelations" of the Israeli scientists which prove that the German Jews have similar fingerprints as Yemenite Jews and in general have more original characteristics in common with them than they have with the other Germans. Can it be that the people mostly persecuted by Hitler's racism were poisoned by this barbaric theory and are now indulging in the mystique of the defunct Nazi "race science?" The fact remains that without a microscope it is very easy to distinguish between a German and a Yemenite and it sometimes took the whole "science" of tracing to the "grandmother" to reveal the genealogy of some of Hitler's prospective victims. And what about the cultural values which account mostly in the modern societies—racial theories notwithstanding—for adherence to definite national groups?

Miss Wassermann sees the necessity of a neutral policy for Israel in the cold war. It goes without saying that the neutralist policy is in the best interests of Israel but the crux of the matter lies in the necessity of integrating Israel with its closest neighbors, i.e., with the Arab countries, and not in looking for alignment with countries which represent for the Arabs directly or indirectly the danger of imperialism. Of course this is not a one-way proposition and not an easy one, taking into consideration the influence of reactionary classes in the Arab countries.

The policy of the present dominating tendency in Israel doesn't contribute to this solution by its excessive nationalism and reluctance to any compromise on the Arab refugees. The task of every progressive is to criticizs the rulers for their dangerous policy and not to condone it.

A. R.

Political alternatives

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

It seems to me highly likely that Nixon will have to take over, even if the President survives, despite the fact that the Big Grin is easier to hide behind.

It is recognized that Nixon cannot be elected, any more than Knowland and Knight can be in California. Therefore the Power Elite will swing to the Democratic Party, a trick Stevenson is already facilitating that will delight Dixie and the R.C. hierarchy. While then the country and the world would be safer without the Dulles Brothers, if we can survive the brinks that they have created, the gain of changes in '58 and '60 would be largely local.

Therefore do we try to make progress through local changes only or should we seek to build a Labor-Farmer-Negro-Egghead-for-Survival and Progress minority party? Decision by liberal and progressive leaders should be made by mid-summer. Or have I formulated the possibilities and alternatives inaccurately? Certainly it is again time to start discussing them seriously.

Harry C. Steinmetz

No time to wrangle

MITCHELL, S. D.

It is very encouraging to note, in the last half-dozen issues, your emphasis on independent progressive political action, as evidenced by your challenging editorials, news accounts and endorsement of Socialist Workers Party candidates.

It looks like the SWP candidates are willing and anxious to cooperate. Of course, we must have a sound and correct program, but with madmen itching to blow up the earth, this is no time to wrangle over details and trifles.

Willard Barth

Challenge

DETROIT, MICH.

Labor is the only power capable of checking the drift to catastrophe, not only to save itself but to save the nation.

Will labor meet the challenge?

Eino Hiltunen

Anti D. and C.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Davis and Charney, New York CP leaders, say (Mailbag 12/9) socialism can be promoted by a coalition with the "labor and popular forces," meaning the AFL-CIO and Democratic and Liberal parties. But, as I know from my position within an AFL-CIO union, the union bureaucracy and the professional political machines do not necessarily represent the interests of labor and the people in general. The labor bureaucracy and politicians have their own interests apart from the working class that are inextricably bound up with the perpetuation of capitalism and therefore opposed to the most piddling motions in the direction of socialism.

The CP leaders are doing exactly what the capitalists want them to do—supporting capitalist labor leaders and politicians. How can this possibly promote socialism? Though a "third" party made up only of progressives might have only limited effect at present it would have the ready-made apparatus with which to go into action once the time is ripe.

G. L.

Correcter

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

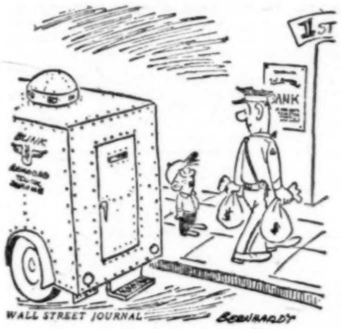
I notice that the Socialists Workers Party is making much of the fact that its New York mayoralty candidate received 14,000 votes in 1957 compared with "less than 4,000" in 1953.

Would it not be relevant to mention that in 1953 Clifford T. McAvoy received 54,372 votes for mayor on the American Labor Party ticket?

It would appear that of those 54,372 ALP voters in 1953 some 10,000 cast their ballots for the SWP this year. Would it be correct then to say that the other 44,000 in effect repudiated the GUARDIAN's endorsement of the SWP ticket?

Unsigned

In 1949, Vito Marcantonio got 346,000 votes as ALP candidate for mayor of N. Y. Would it be correcter to say that in 1957 the other 336,000 repudiated, etc.? —Ed.



Wall Street Journal

"Watch your car, mister?"

Pundits, get cracking

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Let the U.S. Marxists and pundits prove their superior Marxist knowledge and standards by organizing a viable and mature left-wing movement, concretely—not in fantasy.

Victor Richmond

Democratic punch?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The GUARDIAN by classing the CP electoral position in New York with that of a fighter with a glass jaw is conducting criticism in a demagogic manner. Furthermore, while criticism of the CP is right when they are wrong, at all times, in my opinion, care must be taken not to fall in with those who seek to destroy the CP. Historical experience has taught us that the Communist Parties of the world are the only parties ever to bring into being socialism and that those whose policy is constant attack and criticism of the CP have always wound up doing the work of imperialism.

Lew B.

Warm praise

MOORESTOWN, N.J.

I feel that you try to tell the truth, and I learn much from you that I get nowhere else. You appear to have a warm, friendly spirit which makes me feel that you are, or could be, my personal friends. I may be extremely naive, but I have wondered if you are Communists! (Please don't tell me if you are; I prefer not to know!) I hope I am a Christian—not only in name, but in deed—one who strives to practice the Golden Rule. I fear to say this because I know how often and how grievously I fail. As I am past four score years, I hope, before too long, to "go where my Redeemer liveth."

"Not more than others I deserve But God hath given me more."

Name withheld

the SPECTATOR

Fish story

A recent issue of Soviet Literature *indicates that there is a movement on in the Soviet Union back to the healthy tradition of self-satire. In the "Humor & Satire" section of issue No. 10, 1957, there appeared an article on literary criticism by Zinovi Paperni from which the following is excerpted.*

LET US IMAGINE that Pushkin's **Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish** was first published this year. We shall briefly retell the tale. It is written in verse, and speaks about an old fisherman who catches a magic goldfish. The fish begs the old man to let it go, promising to grant him anything he wishes in return. The kind-hearted old man throws the fish back into the sea without more ado and goes home to tell his wife the strange story. His old woman, who has a practical turn of mind and a mean character to boot, scolds him roundly and sends him back to ask the fish for a new washtub in place of her old broken one. This is the beginning. The more her wishes are granted the more the old woman wants. After the fish has made her a rich noblewoman she demands to be made a tsaritsa and not satisfied with that, insists on becoming the queen of the ocean. At this the goldfish loses patience and the old woman finds herself back in her old hovel with the broken washtub.

Here are a few of the reviews of this tale that might appear by different types of Soviet literary critics.

THE VARNISH-IT-UP TYPE: This is a gay sprightly tale bubbling with humor and high spirits. Notwithstanding their venerable age the fisherman and his wife are young in spirit. The old man is a hard-working man of toil, the old woman a veritable dynamo of energy, full of initiative and good sense. True, at times she is inclined to grumble a little at the old man, but this is a healthy, constructive criticism aimed at awakening his will to action. The old man realizes this and no conflicts arise.

With the help of the fish, the two leading characters achieve notable success in improving their living conditions. When the story opens they live in a delightful little mud hut with all modern conveniences including refuse disposal, but as the plot develops their floorspace increases until they occupy a dwelling of truly palatial proportions. The ultimate return to the old mud hut owing to a misunderstanding with the fish is a mere detail and has no bearing on the main message of the tale.

THE GIVE-'EM-HELL TYPE: A highly commendable undertaking. Unfortunately, however, the execution falls short of the concept. If one is to believe the author, the leading characters of his poem dwelt in a "tumbledown hut three-and-thirty years to the day." Now this premise gives rise to two questions: (1) where did the author see such characters and (2) are we to believe that in 33 years the old couple were unable to induce the village Soviet to repair their cottage if they could not afford to do it themselves?

Further. Apart from a casual mention of the old woman "spinning her yarn," the author shows no interest in her attitude to labor. The labor process in the case of the old man is likewise presented in a distorted light. We read:

> *Once he cast his net in the ocean.*
> *And the net came up with mud only. (Sic!)*
> *When he cast his net the next time*
> *The net came up with just seaweed. (?)*

What is this if not downright slander of the toilers of the sea, who last year alone brought in thousands of tons of fish, not "mud," not "seaweed," but good, top quality fish, including a good percentage of the golden variety.

Particularly depressing are the concluding lines of the tale where the author allows the broken washtub to eclipse the sea motif, and ends the story on a note of futility and hopelessness. **The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish** is an obvious attempt on the author's part to turn us back to the dark past as symbolized by the old washtub. In publishing the tale in its present form the editors of the Collected Works have committed a regrettable error and rendered the author a poor service.

THE ERUDITE TYPE: Napoleon said: "Great men are meteorites that burn themselves out to illuminate the world." These words have no bearing whatever on Pushkin's tale and that is why I felt compelled to cite them here.

The old man of Pushkin's tale bears little resemblance to the old men of Rembrandt's canvases. (Viz. "The Portrait of an Old Man in a Black Beret" not to speak of "The Portrait of the Old Man with a Cane"!) **The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish** is perhaps closest of all to Hemingway's story **The Old Man and the Sea.** I would go so far as to say that **The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish** is **The Old Man and the Sea** of last century, and **The Old Man and the Sea** is **the Tale of the Fisherman,** etc., of our time. Pushkin's old man caught **a fish and threw it back into the sea.** Hemingway's old man caught **a fish but was unable to "bring home the bacon,"** to use a vulgarism. **This is symbolic. The symbolism of the story is further enhanced by the introduction of the shark in whom the discerning reader has no difficulty in recognizing the sharks of capitalism.**